Sarah Stone's Drawings of Cook's Northwest Coast Artifacts:
Eighteenth-Century Contexts and Contemporary Perspectives

By

Julia C. Lum

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines a body of watercolour drawings by the eighteenth-century artist, Sarah Stone, who was commissioned to depict ethnographic objects brought back from James Cook's third expedition. Her depictions of Nuu-chah-nulth objects are analyzed as works of visual culture within several historical and cultural contexts. Beginning with an introduction to Sir Ashton Lever (who was bequeathed Cook's artifacts and who hired Stone to draw objects in his collection) and a historiography of early museology, this paper considers Stone's background and methods with respect to the organization and representation of ethnographic objects in the eighteenth-century, the conventions of natural history illustration, and the gendered associations of drawing as a polite art. Stone's drawings depict objects that have specific meanings in Nuu-chah-nulth history and culture, and Nuu-chah-nulth insight foregrounds the objecthood of Stone's original subject matter, bridging the gap between her representations and contemporary Aboriginal prerogatives.

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PREFACE

In the third year of my undergraduate studies, I packed up my belongings and headed to Australia for one year of studies at the University of Melbourne. During my exchange, I gained a new awareness of the history of colonial relations in Australia, with which I was previously unfamiliar. Throughout the course of my travels, I also became interested in the rich and diverse cultures of the Aboriginal peoples of the continent, gaining both a respect for Australian Aboriginal cultural production and an interest in the historical events that continue to affect the contemporary social and political atmosphere. Upon my return to Canada, it struck me as odd that I had never had that same level of inquisitiveness, which seemed to come naturally to me as a traveller, with respect to my own surroundings on the west coast of British Columbia, where I was born and raised. My travels abroad sparked an interest in numerous research topics relating to the early history of colonial relations on the Northwest Coast, particularly relating to the history of contact in Nootka Sound, which, as I soon learned, was a hub of trading activity in the late eighteenth-century. My interest in the historic parallels between Australia and Canada soon led to research investigations into the ways that eighteenth-century European visual culture in the age of exploration attempted to mediate difference, in spite of far-reaching geographic and cultural divides.

It was not only eighteenth-century European explorers who travelled extensively, but also the objects they collected from Indigenous peoples on each of their stops. As they found their way to different places, these objects acquired new meanings, a phenomenon illustrated by Adrienne Kaeppler's fascinating examination of the Maori *patu* in her essay, "Two Polynesian Repatriation Enigmas at the Smithsonian

Institution.”¹ Kaeppler chronicles the travel of the *patu*, which was collected in New Zealand by the naturalist Joseph Banks, who brought the basalt hand weapon to England and commissioned forty brass replicas. It has been suggested that a few of Banks’s brass *patu* replicas were brought on Cook’s third voyage (1776-1779) to use as gifts or trade items, and one of them eventually made its way inland to the territory of the Umatilla of modern-day Oregon.² This same *patu* was included in a repatriation request by the people of Umatilla,³ demonstrating the complexities of provenance and repatriation politics, a topic that cannot be given full justice here, but which highlights the significant ways that ethnographic objects are ascribed new meanings in new contexts.

Aware of my interest in eighteenth-century cultural encounters, Professor Ruth Phillips first alerted me to the existence of Sarah Stone’s ethnographic albums in the archival collection of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu. I was immediately drawn to Stone’s watercolour drawings of material culture collected on Cook’s third voyage, and I soon began to ask similar questions as those posed in Kaeppler’s essay: What cultures may lay claim to these drawings? Do they belong solely to a European artistic tradition, or do the descendants of those who originally made the objects drawn by Stone have some stake in the albums’ interpretation? How were these Indigenous objects incorporated into Western museum narratives upon their arrival in England?

Returning to the notion of travel, we might say that the source objects in Stone’s albums, (and by extension the very albums themselves, now in Hawaii) have made significant journeys over time and across cultural boundaries. This aspect of their

¹ Adrienne Kaeppler, “Two Polynesian repatriation Enigmas at the Smithsonian Institution,” *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 17 (2005): 152-162.

² Kaeppler, “Two Polynesian,” 153.

³ Kaeppler, “Two Polynesian,” 154.

provenance and representation opens up many lines of inquiry, some of which are explored in the following chapters. However, during my research for this thesis it became clear to me that Stone's ethnographic albums warrant a thorough investigation in their entirety, a task that proved impossible within the scope of this thesis. I greatly anticipate a forthcoming publication by Adrienne Kaeppler,⁴ (whose scholarship has been an invaluable resource to my study), which will supply important insights into Sarah Stone's patron and the museum where her ethnographic albums were completed. Along with Kaeppler's study, future scholarship on this topic will be a valuable contribution to our understanding of Stone's albums as important records and works of visual culture.

⁴ This forthcoming publication is entitled *Holophusicon: An 18th Century English Institution of Science, Curiosity, and Art*, and will be published by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna.

INTRODUCTION

[A Native] today put up before his face an image of a bird's head and offered it for sale, at the same time shaking it up and down... this being supposed to be done by some Contrivance raised the Value of it so much in the Eye of one of our collectors of Curiosities, that he immediately offered a very large price for it which was as quickly accepted...¹

In the late eighteenth-century, the region now known as Nootka Sound [Fig. 0.1] had newly made its mark upon European consciousness. Perched on the outer edge of the continent, between the Pacific Ocean and the deep inlets of Vancouver Island's western coast, the Nuu-Chah-Nulth whaling nations found their waters occupied with foreign traders – beginning with the month-long stay of Captain James Cook and his fleet in 1778. The official Journal of Cook's third voyage, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (1784), publicized the high prices that sea otter pelts from Nootka Sound were fetching on the Chinese market, and opened up the area to a number of Euro-American traders in search of riches. At the same time, Northwest Coast "curiosities" collected on Cook's voyage were first introduced to English society. The above quote, in which one of Cook's officers describes a Nuu-chah-nulth mask's purchase by a collector of curiosities, illustrates the appeal of indigenous material culture to Europeans in the late eighteenth-century. A large portion of the "artificial curiosities" collected on this voyage, including several Nuu-Chah-Nulth objects, were sent to Leicester House in London, which displayed the extensive natural history collection of Sir Ashton Lever (1729-1788).

It is in Lever's museum that the artist Sarah Stone (1760-1844) produced the largest body of her work. Over one thousand of Stone's watercolour drawings have been

¹ David Samwell, in J.C. Beaglehole (ed.), *The Journals of Captain James Cook: The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery, 1776-1780*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1967), 1091; also quoted in J.C.H.

linked to Lever's museum,² and while we have no documentary evidence, most scholars speculate that Lever commissioned these works as a record of the most prized or unique objects in the collection.³ The primary focus of my discussion will be select case-studies within the approximately twenty-nine plates that illustrate Nuu-chah-nulth material culture in Lever's museum, primarily grouped in the second volume of Stone's three ethnographic albums.

I will use this body of work to investigate broader questions about the underlying principles behind the picturing of artifacts in eighteenth-century Britain. The historic representation of artifacts in displays, drawings, diagrams, and catalogue photographs has perpetuated a set of aesthetic conventions within Western paradigms of visual representation, specifically within museological practice. Even today, artifacts are often viewed side-by-side, or isolated, often against a neutral plane and often from both front and profile angles. Although this prevailing representational language has become naturalized, my discussion will show this pictorial strategy to be an inheritance from earlier practices of Western artifact illustration, now spanning several centuries. I will briefly review the development and transformation of museum displays from the sixteenth century to the late eighteenth-century for the purpose of examining the ideological foundations of artifact juxtapositions, orderings and representations.

King, *Artificial Curiosities from the Northwest Coast of America* (London: British Museum Publications, 1981), 80.

² Advertisement for exhibition of over 1000 transparent watercolours, as quoted in Christine E. Jackson, *Natural Curiosities from the New Worlds*, (London: Merrell Holberton, 1998), 22.

³ See Jackson, 10; Clare Haynes suggests that Lever may have commissioned Stone to complete drawings for a catalogue that was never realized. She also makes reference to a catalogue in the British Library entitled *A Catalogue of the Valuable Library of Sir Ashton Lever consisting of Books [...] together with the beautiful drawings in Natural History by Miss Stone which will be sold by Auction by Leigh and Sotheby* (British Library, PRIB44). Clare Haynes, "A 'Natural' Exhibitioner: Sir Ashton Lever and his *Holophusikon*," *British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 24, no. 1 (2001): 12.

My analysis addresses the potential roles and functions Stone's drawings serve both historically and in the present day. Important components of this analysis are art historical methods for the study of image-making and the formal aspects of representation, but I also draw on approaches from anthropology, cultural studies, literature and history. My study is not only multi-disciplinary, but also multi-temporal in that it selectively addresses key concerns of both eighteenth-century and contemporary reception, establishing both continuities and radical departures in visual exegesis over time and between cultural contexts.

Prominent scholars such as J.C.H. King and Adrienne Kaeppler have performed extensive studies of Cook collection artifacts using Stone's work as a means of establishing provenance. Whereas this aspect of Stone's drawings – along with the implications of these findings for contemporary museums – is an important area of investigation, this study does not explore this aspect of the albums at length. Rather, I examine Stone's drawings as works of visual culture suspended within multiple networks of cultural signification. My focus is on the European social and historic conditions surrounding the formation of the Lever's Museum and those conditions in which Stone drew objects in the collection. I also look at the function Stone's representations serve today for academics *and* source communities, acknowledging the impact of changing cultural and epistemological frameworks in the production of meaning. Recent studies of eighteenth-century travel literature and their accompanying engravings use postcolonial methodologies to de-centre the authoritative guise of early primitivist constructions of Indigenous cultures. While these are invaluable contributions to the body of literature on this particular type of visual culture, there has been less focus on the interpretations and

priorities of those peoples whose ancestors are pictured within the journals of European explorers. For contemporary Nuu-chah-nulth individuals, the complex relationships that exist between cultural memory, the transmission of knowledge and pictorial representations of their culture present a very different set of concerns from those raised by cultural historians. It is important, then, to explore the variety of meanings that derive from and relate to this kind of visual culture – not only as European productions, but as material of intersecting cultural histories.

This project then, traces the history of representation and interpretation of Nuu-chah-nulth objects. We begin with the relocation and assembly of Nuu-chah-nulth objects in Lever's museum in London, and continue in Stone's renderings of them in her albums. In the end, we return to Nootka Sound to study the meanings of the drawings and objects for present-day Nuu-chah-nulth communities. I examine the "social lives" of Nuu-chah-nulth objects and Stone's visual productions, tracing specific trajectories of their production, circulation and reception. In the introduction to the *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (1986), Arjun Appadurai argues that "commodities, like persons, have social lives."⁴ Just as economic value is created in the exchange of commodities, so too is value created in the circulation of cultural goods. By extending the notion of commodity exchange beyond the limits of capitalist economies, Appadurai's formulation enables the inclusion of such phenomena as barter and gift-giving.⁵ The various movements, translations and interpretations of Nuu-chah-nulth artifacts are central to my discussion, demonstrating how *regimes of value* are initiated by and

⁴ Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. A. Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1986), 3.

⁵ Appadurai, 10-13.

through inter-cultural exchange and representation.⁶ As the Nuu-chah-nulth artifacts in question move about, they accumulate what Igor Kopytoff terms “life histories.” It is my task here to trace some key movements by which these “culturally constructed entit[ies] endowed with culturally specific meanings [are] classified and reclassified into culturally constituted categories.”⁷

I. Visual Culture

The field of visual culture or visual studies has gained prominence in recent decades and has stimulated the investigation of cultural products from a combination of disciplinary perspectives, practices, and methodologies. The term was first brought into circulation by studies such as Svetlana Alpers’s *The Art of Describing* (1983) and Michael Baxandall’s *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy* (1972), which advance notions surrounding not only painting, but also vision and opticality.⁸ Concerned with the operation of seeing, or what W.J.T. Mitchell calls “showing seeing,”⁹ visual studies brings a wider range of material into its scope than other disciplinary models, considering everything from so-called high art to popular culture to digital ephemera. As an interdisciplinary field, visual studies – the field that concerns itself with visual culture – is not intended to displace the evaluative criteria of art history, but offers, according to

⁶ Ibid., 15.

⁷ Igor Kopytoff, “The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process,” in *The Social Life of Things*, 67.

⁸ Alpers derived the term “visual culture” from Baxandall. See Christopher Pinney, “Four Types of Visual culture,” *The Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Christopher Tilley et al. (London: Sage Publications, 2006), 131.

⁹ See W.J.T. Mitchell, “Showing Seeing: A Critique of Visual Culture,” in *Art History Aesthetics Visual Studies*, ed. Michael Ann Holly et al. (New Haven: Yale U. P., 2002).

Irit Rogoff, to “repopulate space with all the obstacles and all the unknown images, which the illusion of transparency evacuated from it.”¹⁰

Some art historians have been wary of the “anthropological turn” of visual studies, so labelled because of its “preference for a ‘relativist’ model of cultural analysis.”¹¹ That is, rather than imposing a set of universalizing aesthetic criteria, visual studies opts instead to evaluate visual productions according to culturally-specific contexts while simultaneously allowing for intercultural dialogue.¹² These anxieties have been addressed by Mitchell and Rogoff, who posit that vision should be examined like “a language to be learned, a system of codes that interposes an ideological veil between us and the real world,”¹³ and that visual culture’s history becomes “that of the viewer or that of the authorizing discourse.”¹⁴ As noted above, my study presupposes the validity of multiple cultural viewpoints, while critically examining these in relation to Stone’s practice.

Visual studies also presents an expanded field of study – offering opportunities to examine those visual media that may be overlooked within the canon of traditional art history. Sarah Stone’s ethnographic drawings occupy an ambiguous space of recognition; while they are currently housed in museum archives, their status as works of art is not as yet defined, nor is their inclusion in the discourse of fine art. Although they are executed in the materials and tools conventional to art practices, Stone’s drawings significantly overlap with aspects of scientific and naturalist illustration, ethnographic and travel

¹⁰ Irit Rogoff, “Studying Visual Culture,” in *The Visual Culture Reader* ed. Nicholas Mirzeoff (London: Routledge, 2003), 32.

¹¹ Rogoff, 29. The editors of *October* magazine published a special issue, in which some of these claims were leveled against the study of visual culture. See Svetlana Alpers et. al., “Visual Culture Questionnaire,” *October* 77 (Summer, 1996): 25-70.

¹² Rogoff, 30.

documentation, and catalogue records. In *The Domain of Images*, James Elkins advances three arguments about the importance of images such as Stone's, which serve an "informational" function:

that they engage the central issues of art history such as periods, styles, meanings, the history of ideas, concepts of criticism, and changes in society; that they can present more complex questions of representation, convention, medium, production, interpretation, and reception than much of fine art; and, finally, that far from being inexpressive, they are fully expressive and capable of as great and nuanced a range of meaning as any work of fine art.¹⁵

The representation of artifacts prior to the advent of photography is an area that has yet to be extensively explored. As Elkins' three arguments suggest, the informational or documentary quality of such works does not negate their capacity to undergo rigorous investigation. Norman Bryson best illustrates this point in *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze* (1983), with a discussion of the mimetic character of painting, or what he calls the "essential copy." What some philosophers have held as "resurrection of life" in paintings is in fact, according to Bryson, an illusion instigated by the image's reduplicative function – its ability to mimic the eye's perception of reality.¹⁶ Bryson asserts that "the real ought to be understood not as a transcendent and immutable given, but as a production brought about by human activity working within specific cultural constraints." The lure of the image is in fact its ability to "bracket out historical reality."¹⁷ In this sense, vision and visual representation became increasingly important

¹³ Mitchell, 237.

¹⁴ Rogoff, 30.

¹⁵ James Elkins, *The Domain of Images*, (Ithaca: Cornell U P, 1999), 4-5.

¹⁶ Norman Bryson, *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1983), 3.

¹⁷ Bryson, 5

signifiers of order and objectivity during the Enlightenment,¹⁸ and eighteenth-century natural history drawings take this aim to its extreme, bracketing out all but the object of study. It is one of the art historian's aims to reconstruct the social factors which contribute to the image's production.

Over the years, scholars have also argued that the Nuu-chah-nulth artifacts that Stone represents do not fit neatly into the category of fine art. Material culture specialists have long considered the dilemma of Aboriginal art's location within anthropological and art historical paradigms. Ruth Phillips's article "Indian Art: Where do you put it?" (1988) discusses this question in the context of debates surrounding Aboriginal art's framing as ethnographic and aesthetic entities. The nineteenth century model of ethnographic museums placed artifacts within recreated environments meant to provide a broad picture of cultural traits. But as Phillips notes, this model has been criticized for its relegation of Aboriginal peoples to "a mythic, unchanging time period, the infamous 'ethnographic present,' remote from the bustling urban world outside the museum."¹⁹ Yet, the placement of artifacts in a gallery alongside other Western 'masterpieces' has also produced criticisms, for while the objects are appreciated for their aesthetic qualities, this mode of display is criticized for eroding the original content and meaning of artifacts.²⁰

These debates are relevant to my study in that they reveal that *art* and *artifact* – terms constructed and validated by Western discourses – may not always be suitable

¹⁸ Foucault argues that the Classical age restricted the classifying senses to only those that could verify experience through observation. "The sense of touch is very narrowly limited to the designation of a few fairly evident distinctions... which leaves sight with an almost exclusive privilege, being the sense by which we perceive extent and establish proof, and, in consequence, the means to an analysis *partes extra partes* acceptable to everyone." Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: an Archaeology of the Human Species* (London: Routledge, 2002), 132-33

¹⁹ Ruth Phillips, "Indian Art: Where do you put it?," *MUSE* 6, no. 3 (Autumn 1988): 64. For further discussion of the "ethnographic present," see Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (NY: Columbia UP, 1983).

frameworks from which to view Aboriginal cultural objects. Although I liberally use these terms throughout my thesis, a fate perhaps unavoidable, I also acknowledge and give prominence to the rights of contemporary Nuu-chah-nulth individuals to interpret Stone drawings on their own terms. While both Stone's drawings and the objects they represent do not fit neatly into disciplinary categories, this thesis recognizes the potential for their utility within multiple frameworks of study.

II. Postcolonial Ethics

During the controversial *Spirit Sings* exhibition, Aboriginal activists, artists and community members voiced their protest over the representation of First Nations culture in the museum.²¹ Phillips summarizes the opinions of Chief Ominayak of the Lubicon Lake Band: "Chief Ominayak's...demand, that museums show the 'true picture' of Native life, insists on a better contextualization of historical objects, one that is connected to the realities of contemporary Native life rather than a mythic past."²² The first two chapters of this thesis touch on the ways in which Aboriginal artifacts were constructed as products of de-historicized, 'primitive' cultures. While I critically uncover the underlying assumptions behind the organization and depiction of artifacts in the eighteenth-century, the analysis in my first two chapters focuses on European forms of knowledge and cultural production.

²⁰ Phillips, 65.

²¹ In direct response to this exhibition, the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples made explicit the grounds upon which partnerships between museums and First Nations would take shape. Since then, museums have increasingly adopted a collaborative model of exhibition planning. See Ruth Phillips, "Community Collaboration in Exhibitions: Toward a Dialogic Paradigm (Introduction)," *Museums and Source Communities*, eds. Laura Peers and Alison K. Brown (London: Routledge, 2003).

²² Phillips, "Indian Art," 65.

It would be remiss however to neglect the knowledge and opinions of those whose culture is represented by Sarah Stone's drawings. In addition to the many injustices suffered at the hands of colonialist policy, which stripped First Nations of their rights to cultural property, cultural expression and memory, academic work has also played a historic role in reinforcing the disenfranchisement of First Peoples in Canada. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith has vehemently argued in *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (1999), "This collective memory of imperialism has been perpetuated through the ways in which knowledge about indigenous peoples was collected, classified and then represented in various ways back to the West, and then, through the eyes of the West, back to those who have been colonized."²³ Critiques of the Western academic tradition such as Smith's reconsider the authority of Eurocentric discourses and re-frame the way we look at research. These studies question the idea of history as a coherent, universalizing narrative, opening possibilities for Aboriginal subjectivities to rise to the surface.

In this thesis, I do not purport to be the authority on information pertaining to Nuu-chah-nulth cultural heritage and intellectual property. The people of the Mowachaht-Muchalaht First Nation (one of the member nations of the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council) are the direct descendants of the peoples who first came into contact with Cook [see Figure 0.2 for a map of their present-day territory]. Before I began this project, I was aware that, due to the unavailability of these drawings in print and their relative obscurity, the Mowachaht-Muchalaht were not aware of their existence. One of the recommendations of the Task Force Report of 1992, *Turning the Page: Forging New*

²³ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 1999), 1-2.

Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples, a document which has greatly affected the ways that Canadian museums collaborate with Aboriginal peoples, is that Aboriginal peoples be given access to all areas of museum collections, including archival holdings.²⁴ In the spirit of this document and with the permission of the Bishop Museum, which holds the original albums, I undertook to bring photographic reproductions of Stone's drawings to the Mowachaht-Muchalaht community, as well as to Nuuchah-nulth creators from other communities who had not previously viewed them in colour or as a group.

The majority of my third chapter is based on the ideas, opinions, and responses of Nuuchah-nulth peoples – through direct quotation or by way of publications that feature a Nuuchah-nulth perspective. As many of these objects no longer exist in museum collections, Stone's work makes possible an expanded awareness of the Nuuchah-nulth material culture extant at the time of Cook's expedition. Because contemporary Nuuchah-nulth culture is centred in living and vital communities, this kind of historic material gains critical relevance through the knowledge and value-systems of Nuuchah-nulth communities.

III. Methodology

The primary research for this thesis combines personal interviews with an analysis of archival materials and Stone's original sketchbooks/albums, carried out with the use of pertinent secondary literature and theory.

²⁴ Assembly of First Nations and Canadian Museums Association, *Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples* (Ottawa: AFN/CMA, 1992), 4.

The second and third volume of Stone's ethnographic albums, located at the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, contain the highest number of drawings depicting Nuuchah-nulth artifacts.²⁵ I travelled to Honolulu in February of 2008 to examine the albums and supplementary archival material in the Bishop's archives. The vellum-bound albums contain 85 plates (*Volume the Second*) and 78 plates (*Volume the Third*) respectively, although several pages have been crudely removed.²⁶ According to the museum's archives, the albums were acquired from the collector A.W.F. Fuller (1882-1961), who played an important role in identifying the value of their contents.²⁷ I also studied an edition of Cook's *Atlas* which contains engravings by John Webber, whom I will discuss later in this thesis in relation to Stone's drawings.

There are no colour reproductions of these images in any known publication. Prior to my visit, the Bishop hired (on my behalf) a photographer who digitally photographed album pages containing Nuuchah-nulth artifacts. As noted, I distributed reproductions of these to all of my interviewees,²⁸ in many cases before the scheduled interview so that they would have time to examine the drawings. Four of these interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed, and the transcripts were sent to the individuals involved – Bill Holm, Tim Paul, K̓i-k̓e-in, and the Mowachaht-Muchalaht elders – for approval. The interviews form a large part of the research component on contemporary perspectives, and I attempt to give equal prominence to individual voices so as to

²⁵ There is one known drawing of a Northwest Coast mask in Volume One (at the British Museum), which is documented by J.C.H. King in "Woodlands Art as depicted by Sarah Stone in the Collection of Sir Ashton Lever," *American Indian Art Magazine* 18 (Spring 1993): 44.

²⁶ "85" in the notation "Plates 85 in this Volume," possibly in the artist's handwriting, is scratched out by A.W. Fuller in the third volume and replaced with "78 now."

²⁷ The accession numbers for Volumes 2 and 3, respectively, which contain hand-written notes by Fuller are: 1964.019.001 and 1964.019.002.

²⁸ The images were distributed with the consent of the Bishop Museum Archives and the following notice: "no reproduction without written permission, Bishop Museum."

accommodate multiple, sometimes contradictory viewpoints. It should also be understood that the Nuu-chah-nulth individuals interviewed in no way form a ‘representative’ sample of communities.

The first interview I conducted was with art historian and distinguished Northwest Coast scholar, Bill Holm, who identified the objects in Stone’s album that were likely of Nuu-chah-nulth origin. While not all the objects can be identified, his expertise enabled me to define the scope of my discussion and the drawings that would be the focus of my analysis. In Port Alberni, B.C., Hupačasath²⁹ creator K̓i-ke-in (Ron Hamilton) and Heṣquiaht³⁰ artist Tim Paul spoke to me about Stone’s drawings, sharing knowledge about the objects not only in the context of Nuu-chah-nulth heritage, but also in relation to their personal experiences and histories. Their perspectives offered fresh insight into the nature of Stone’s representations and the ways they could be linked to Aboriginal knowledge.

I also interviewed several elders and community members from the Mowachaht-Muchalaht First Nation whose ancestors traded and gifted the Nuu-chah-nulth objects that appear in Stone’s albums. This meeting was facilitated by Sheila Savey of the Mowachaht-Muchalaht First Nation. I travelled to the community at Tsaxana, near the town of Gold River, B.C. – approximately 90 kilometres west of Campbell River on Vancouver Island. This trip served two purposes: first, as mentioned above, it gave the community access to these images, which are a part of their heritage, and secondly, it granted me the privilege of listening to the elders of the community speak about the

²⁹ The Hupačasath First Nation is one of the member nations of the Nuu-chah-nulth tribal council. Their territory makes up approximately 229,000 hectares of land in the Alberni Valley.

³⁰ The Heṣquiaht First Nation is also a member nation in the Nuu-chah-nulth tribal Council. They traditionally occupied the area around Hesquiaht Harbour, just south of Nootka Sound.

relevance that the images have to them today. My research findings and this thesis will be provided to the Mowachaht-Muchalaht First Nation for its resource library.

In combination with contemporary accounts of Nuu-chah-nulth culture, I use twentieth-century anthropological texts to provide a background on the ethnohistory and cosmology of the Nuu-chah-nulth and to inform my examination of the original objects' utilitarian values. This methodological approach has been coined "upstreaming" by the anthropologist William Fenton and has been adopted by subsequent scholars of the Iroquoianist school.³¹ Elaborating on Fenton's term, Daniel Richter defines this method as "the interpretation of historical sources in light of ethnological and folkloric materials collected in later periods; one moves 'up' the historical stream from a better to a less well documented era."³² Richter argues that the limitation of upstreaming is not that it risks falling into the historical fallacy of "presentism" – the anachronistic framing of the past in order to validate contemporary conditions – but rather, that it cannot properly trace branches of history that do not have locatable pathways to the present.³³ Upstreaming, in his view, is best accomplished with particular sensitivities to both cultural continuity and change over time. While I make frequent use of upstreaming methods, this project does not seek to gain access to eighteenth-century Nuu-chah-nulth subjectivities through contemporary individuals, for while contemporary Nuu-chah-nulth peoples have inherited rich traditions and oral histories from their ancestors, it is important to recognize that their culture has undergone great change in the centuries since the "fatal

³¹ See the first chapter of Fenton's *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy*, as suggested by Daniel Richter in "Up the Cultural Stream: Three Recent Works in Iroquois Studies," *Ethnohistory* 32:4 (Autumn 1985), 363-369.

³² Daniel Richter, "Introduction," *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: the Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*, (Williamsburg: U of North Carolina P, 1992), 5.

³³ Richter, "Up the cultural stream," 367.

impact”³⁴ of first contact. Similarly, this thesis does not position eighteenth-century cultural productions as somehow more authentic than those used today by virtue of relative age or lack of stylistic influence from European forces. Cultural production occurs within specific social and material contexts; any attempt to recover information about the eighteenth-century — whether through analysis of archival documents, anthropological sources, or through contemporary knowledge — will always be incomplete and mediated by present-day concerns. However, it is important to give equal prominence to all of these research sources, as all are crucial to this analysis.

Historical studies of cabinets of curiosities and early museums help construct the background necessary for an analysis of Lever’s museum. I consult an official companion to the museum, which provides a sense of how the collection was later organized under James Parkinson, its subsequent owner (see Literature Review). I extrapolate information from these sources and use them to construct an idea of how Lever’s original museum might have been organized. This context also illuminates Stone’s practice, as it gives a sense of how she would have viewed the objects before drawing them. Historical studies of watercolour drawing in the eighteenth-century also provide an important context for Stone’s work, allowing for an examination of the variety of social and scientific purposes the medium served in Britain. Further, I look to scholarly analyses on the colonial context of artifact illustration to examine critically the drawings within the overlapping discourses of natural history, ethnography and colonialism. The following review of primary and secondary literature is grouped according to the major themes that emerge in each chapter.

³⁴ The term “fatal impact” is used by Alan Moorehead in *The Fatal Impact: An Account of the Invasion of the South Pacific, 1767-1840*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1966).

IV. Literature Review

Sarah Stone and Ashton Lever: Primary Sources

There is little surviving primary documentation of Lever's Museum and its contents in their original location at Leicester House, and there is even less information about Sarah Stone and her artistic practice. The two original sketchbooks/albums that are the subject of my study are housed at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives in Honolulu. These two albums together contain one hundred and sixty-three plates of watercolour drawings. Using descriptions from previously compiled lists, Bishop Museum archivists have identified and labeled approximately forty-eight plates as containing Northwest Coast objects.³⁵ As a result of my consultation with Northwest Coast experts and the scholarship of King, Kaeppler and Stephen Brown,³⁶ I have determined that this number is closer to approximately thirty-three (with approximately twenty-nine Nuu-chah-nulth artifacts).³⁷ Attribution is often uncertain because no accompanying index is known to exist that dates to the time of the albums's production. It is also difficult to distinguish Nuu-chah-nulth artifacts from objects of other Northwest Coast origin because the label "Nootka Sound" was used as a catch-all phrase to refer to the Northwest Coast of North America in the eighteenth-century.³⁸

Several publication guides are associated with the Leverian museum when it was under the direction of James Parkinson after Lever's death in 1788. The most pertinent of

³⁵ Jackson reproduces a list of notes on the watercolours compiled by archivist Stuart W. H. Ching on pages 122-123.

³⁶ Stephen Brown, *Spirits in the Water: Native Art Collected on Expeditions to Alaska and British Columbia, 1774-1910* (Seattle: U of W Press, 2000).

³⁷ See the Appendix for descriptions of individual pages and the objects depicted.

³⁸ J.C.H. King, "Nuu-chah-nulth art at the British Museum," in *Nuu-chah-nulth Voices*, 257.

these to my project is *A Companion to the Museum* (late Sir Ashton Lever's), removed to *Albion Street, the Surrey end of Black Friar's Bridge*, the first and only volume of an official guide, published by Parkinson in 1790. While it contains few engravings, the ordered descriptions of each room in the museum give valuable insight into the organizing principles of artifact display and the values which elevated the importance of certain objects over others. A guide intended to instruct youth in “the First Principles of Natural History,”³⁹ entitled *Visits to the Leverian Museum: Containing an Account of Several of Its Principal Curiosities, Both of Nature and Art* was published in 1805. It also contains descriptions of the museum's rooms, however it glosses over the arrangement of artifacts and largely paraphrases sections of *A Companion* without the benefit of itemized lists. *Museum Leverianum* by George Shaw (1792-96) is an illustrated compendium of animal species, accompanied by a description of name, character, and corresponding excerpts from natural history authorities. The original watercolour drawings for this publication are currently in the McGill archives, and the group of drawings may also include a few unsigned works by Stone.⁴⁰

Supplementary primary documents provide further information about the character of the museum. Several editions of the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* contain advertisements for the museum, revealing aspects of Lever's and Parkinson's promotional strategies. The *Journals of the House of Commons* contains Lever's 1784

³⁹ Anthony Ella, *Visits to the Leverian Museum: containing an account of several of its principal curiosities, both of nature and art: intended for the instruction of young persons in the first principles of natural history* (London: Tabart and Co., 1805).

⁴⁰ In addition, Lady Eleanor Fenn authored two unofficial companions, which included the illustrations of an unknown artist. These were: *A short history of insects... designed as an introduction to the study of that branch of natural history, and as a pocket companion to those who visit the Leverian Museum* (Norwich: 1797); and *A short history of quadrupeds extracted from works of credit, designed as an introduction to the study of that branch of natural history and as a pocket companion to those who visit the Leverian Museum*

petition for sale by lottery, which quotes several natural historians' praise of the collection's national and international value. The letters of author and socialite Fanny Burney also contain musings on Lever's museum and his "curious" reputation. Percival Stockdale wrote a tribute to the collector in *A Poetical Epistle to Sir Ashton Lever* in 1784 that casts him in a better light than Burney's sardonic observations.⁴¹

Sarah Stone and Ashton Lever: Secondary Sources

Christine Jackson's publication, *Natural Curiosities from the New Worlds* (1998), is the most comprehensive account of Stone's life and work to date. It features reproductions of Stone's paintings of flora and fauna, biographical information about Lever and Stone, and appendices listing all the known works identified in contemporary museum collections. The only book devoted to Sarah Stone's ethnographic watercolours is *Art and Artifacts of the 18th Century* (1968) by Roland and Maryanne Force. Based on the notations of the collector A.W. Fuller, who was the first to discover the significance of Stone's albums, this text mainly focuses on the depiction of Hawaiian artifacts (only these are in full colour). However, a large number of Northwest Coast representations are also included, albeit with scant accompanying information.

Artificial Curiosities From the Northwest Coast of America (1981) provides a detailed catalogue of material from the British Museum's Cook-Banks collection that is thought to have originated from Cook's third voyage. Authored by J.C.H King, then

(London: 1780). There is also an official sale catalogue for the 1806 auction of the museum's contents, which includes an itemized list of prices and buyers names.

⁴¹ Annie Raine Ellis, ed, *The Early Diary of Frances Burney, 1768-1778*, Vol. 2, (London: George Bell and Sons), 1889; Percival Stockdale, *Three poems: I. Siddons: - a poem. II. A poetical epistle to Lever, III. An elegy on the death of a young officer of the army*, (London: printed for W. Flexney, 1784), in *English Short Title Catalogue*, Eighteenth-century Collections Online, <http://galenet.galegroup.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca> (accessed February 10, 2008)

Keeper of North American collections of Ethnology at the British Museum, this valuable text outlines the details of attribution / provenance, and uses Stone's paintings as a means of identifying Cook voyage artifacts in the British Museum. King has produced several other publications relating to Ashton Lever. An article in *American Indian Art Magazine* entitled "Woodlands Art as depicted by Sarah Stone in the Collection of Sir Ashton Lever" (1993) offers more detailed information on Stone's watercolours in the volume of her work held in the British Museum's Library of the Department of Ethnography⁴² and their value to material culture studies today. "New Evidence for the Contents of the Leverian Museum" (1996) presents a succinct overview of Lever's collection, Stone's oeuvre in relation to the museum, the subsequent management and dispersal of the collection, and includes appendices with a description of the British Museum folios of Stone's work.

As cited in the Preface, Adrienne Kaeppler, curator of oceanic ethnology (Smithsonian), is another scholar who has worked extensively with Stone's drawings, initially in preparation for the exhibition, *Artificial Curiosities: An Exposition of native manufactures collected on the three Pacific voyages of Captain James Cook, R.N.*, which was held at the Bishop Museum in 1978. The exhibition's catalogue, edited by Kaeppler, includes a detailed list of all the items included in the exhibition and essays on ethnography in the age of Cook. Her forthcoming book, a comprehensive study of Lever's collections entitled *Holophusicon: An 18th Century English Institution of Science, Curiosity, and Art*, will be published by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna.

⁴² This album contains forty plates. Reference Number MM 034 227/3.

Art historian Clare Haynes's article "A 'Natural' Exhibitioner: Sir Ashton Lever and his Holophusikon" (2001) published in *British Journal of Eighteenth-century Studies* provides an overview of Lever's collecting practices. Making reference to contemporaneous impressions of the museum, she argues that the collection of natural history specimens was well within the acceptable pursuits for English gentlemen of the eighteenth-century.

Cabinets of Curiosities and Early Museums

The late eighteenth-century was a period of transition in the history of the museum, when a number of virtuoso "cabinets of curiosities" or *Wunderkammer* were opened to a wider public in the form of museums. Whether privately-funded, like Lever's museum, or state-sponsored, like the British Museum, these early museums inherited many of the features of the *Wunderkammer*.

The literature on the history of early museums provides the context for an analysis of Lever's museum. Among these, Eilean Hooper-Greenhill's influential text, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (1992) provides an important theoretical framework for this discussion, as does the work on which she largely bases her reading, Michel Foucault's *The Order of Things* (1966). Hooper-Greenhill closely models her survey of early museum history on Foucault's theories of shifting epistemological frameworks, using case studies to reveal how the workings of each 'episteme' can be located in the ordering logic of a cabinet or museum.

Several other texts provide the basis for my reading of the Leverian museum's arrangement, and shed light on the popular organizing principles it adopted, and their philosophical underpinnings. Another work used heavily by Hooper-Greenhill, *The*

Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe (1985), edited by Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, provides foundational literature on European museum history. A number of studies of eighteenth-century collections, particularly those focusing on British collections, also inform my research. Barbara Maria Stafford's *Artful Science: Enlightenment Entertainment and the Eclipse of Visual Education* (1994) describes eighteenth-century collections that mix spectacle and science, theorizing the entertainment value of eclectic presentations such as Lever's. Amiria Henare's *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange* (2005), a study of the collection and display of Maori artifacts, examines parallel disciplinary foundations of anthropological museums and European attitudes towards "artificial curiosities" in the eighteenth-century.

Colonial Texts and Images

My research relies on the historical approaches of scholars whose works have reframed our understanding of eighteenth-century texts and images, bringing to light the underlying mechanisms of colonial authority. Nicholas Thomas' essays "Licensed Curiosity: Cook's Pacific Voyages," in the anthology *The Cultures of Collecting* (1994), edited by John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, and his essay "Objects of Knowledge: Oceanic Artifacts in European Engravings" in his book, *In Oceania* (1997), prove particularly relevant to my discussion of artifacts and their representation by European artists. In these two essays, Thomas argues that travel journal illustrations of ethnographic objects impose a rational, scientific gaze on their subject-matter that leads to a kind of "vacuity of meaning."⁴³ He associates this decontextualization of objects with a direct response to

⁴³ Nicholas Thomas, "Objects of Knowledge: Oceanic Artifacts in European Engravings." *In Oceania* (Durham & London: Duke UP, 1997), 100.

critiques of curiosity collecting. In an attempt to cultivate an appearance of cold scientific rationality in a field that was considered ad hoc and unprincipled, curiosity collecting could be legitimized as a discipline through visual representation.

Bronwen Douglas – who, like Thomas, specializes in Oceanic studies – argues that colonial texts and archives can be deconstructed to reveal evidence of Indigenous agency in her essay “Art as Ethno-historical Text: Science, Representation and Indigenous Presence in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Oceanic Voyage Literature” (1999). In a complementary study, *The Sleep of Reason: Primitivism in Modern European Art and Aesthetics, 1725–1907* (1995), Frances Connelly offers a detailed study of European Othering through particular aesthetic operations, that render “primitive” cultures as functions of Western imaginative frames of reference.

Watercolour Drawing as a *Polite Art and Useful Art*⁴⁴

The specificity of watercolour as a popular medium in this period and its relation to Stone’s practice is an important aspect of my discussion. Ann Bermingham’s work, *Learning to Draw: studies in the cultural history of a polite and useful art* (2000), is an indispensable history of the medium’s technical application and its gendered associations among certain eighteenth-century social circles. Her discussion of “the Accomplished Woman,” here and in another article, “Elegant females and gentlemen connoisseurs: The commerce in culture and self-image in eighteenth century England” (1995) offer a view of women’s leisure activities in the eighteenth-century as a function of social standing and marriageability. *Wash and Gouache: A Study of the Development of the Materials of Watercolor* (1977) by Marjorie B. Cohn has informed my formal and technical analysis

of Stone's work and enabled me to identify materials and techniques specific to her period.

The most comprehensive study of art associated with Cook's Voyages is Ruddiger Joppien's and Bernard Smith's multi-volume compendium, *The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages*. Following Smith's highly influential work, *European Vision and the South Pacific, 1768 – 1850: a study in the history of art and ideas* (1960), in which Smith set the tone for future examinations of the social history of early colonial art in the Pacific, Smith and Joppien review the vast body of work that emerged from the artists aboard Cook's voyages. The most prolific of these voyage artists is John Webber, whose work I will use as a comparative case study. Smith's more recent work, *Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages* (1992) re-examines this subject, offering studies that situate the work of voyage artists within the traditions of plein-air painting and ethnographic representation.

Nuu-chah-nulth Ethnohistory, Material Culture, and Contemporary Voices

In addition to the Aboriginal viewpoints I discuss in my third chapter, art historical and anthropological texts, catalogues, and personal interviews also offer detailed information on the identification of artifacts and the utilitarian aspects of artifacts represented in Stone's albums.⁴⁵ One of the most valuable texts to date is *Nuu-Chah-Nulth Voices, Histories, Objects and Journeys* (2000), edited by Alan Hoover. This anthology of essays about Nuu-chah-nulth culture includes both the perspectives of Nuu-

⁴⁴ This is a reference to the title of Ann Bermingham's book: *Learning to Draw: studies in the cultural history of a polite and useful art* (New Haven: the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2000).

⁴⁵ Anthropologists are increasingly adapting a phenomenological approach to the study of material culture. See Julian Thomas, "Phenomenology and Material Culture," *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Christopher Tilley et al. (London: Sage Publications, 2006).

chah-nulth community members and academics, and the essays in combination constitute a dialogue new in the literature of that time. Hoover's edited volume accompanied the exhibition *HuupuK^wanum tupaat: out of the mist : treasures of the Nuu-chah-nulth chiefs*, which was held at the Royal British Columbia Museum in 2001. The catalogue for the exhibition also represents Nuu-chah-nulth material culture from both a museological and First Nations viewpoint. Its emphasis is on the artifacts' roles as *treasures* within various families, and emphasizes the culturally-specific functions and spiritual significance of material culture in Nuu-chah-nulth society.

Anthropological literature on the Nuu-chah-nulth both establishes background ethnohistorical information and supplies a means of describing certain objects' utility and function within the culture. While I have not cited it directly in this thesis, the majority of the ethnohistorical literature on Nuu-chah-nulth culture relies heavily on the fieldwork of Edward Sapir and Morris Swadesh in *Nootka Texts: Tales and ethnological narratives, with grammatical notes and lexical materials* (1939). Similarly, Phillip Drucker's *Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes* (1951) remains a comprehensive ethnographic source on Nuu-chah-nulth society in the late nineteenth century,⁴⁶ providing detailed descriptions and drawings of material culture. *Since the Time of the Transformers: The Ancient Heritage of the Nuu-chah-nulth, Ditidaht, and Makah* (1999) by Alan McMillan brings together archaeological, ethnological and linguistic information, and also foregrounds the role of oral histories in the account of Nuu-chah-nulth culture's origins and developments. Nuu-chah-nulth words were transcribed using the orthographies found

⁴⁶ Drucker's informants were elders whose memories extended to the late nineteenth-century.

in *HuupuK^wanum tupaat* and in John Stonham's *A Concise Dictionary Of The Nuuchahnulth Language Of Vancouver Island* (2007).⁴⁷

V. Chapter Breakdown

In my first chapter, I situate Lever's project within the Enlightenment discourses of collecting, curiosity and natural history. Looking at the history of cabinets of curiosity and drawing comparisons with similar collections, I examine Lever's museum in light of scholarship on the polymathic nature of early museums and their arrangement of "artificial curiosities." Narrowing my scope further, I focus on *The Sandwich Room* of the museum, which contained ethnographic material brought back from Cook's third voyage. Through an analysis of the ordering logic of this room and its cases, we gain a better insight into how Nuu-chah-nulth material culture was presented to the public, and how Stone might have approached her subject-matter.

Chapter Two isolates Stone's practice in relation to the status of watercolour drawing in the late eighteenth-century. I situate her work within discourses of natural history illustration and female education, factors which may have contributed to her training, her commission to record Lever's museum, and her choice of subject-matter. I also show how Stone's images fit into the arguments of scholars who claim that such images *decontextualize* their source objects, establishing scientific order over the ambiguous field of curiosity collecting.

In the final chapter, I explore how the drawings are taken up by contemporary Nuu-chah-nulth artists, elders and community members, who use the images both as tools

⁴⁷ It should be noted that most of the forms of words in Stonham's dictionary are from the Tsishaath dialect, however there is significant overlap of similar words in the dialects of the Northern and Central Nuu-chah-nulth.

for reconnecting with aspects of their cultural history and as touchpoints for speaking about the continuation of cultural tradition. Here, I argue that Nuu-chah-nulth individuals reformulate contextual information within the spaces of Stone's pages. I also argue that the objecthood of the source material is re-consigned to the two-dimensional surface to allow the images to function in relation to culturally-specific mandates and priorities.

CHAPTER 1: Sir Ashton Lever's Museum

In Sarah Stone's watercolour *The Interior of Sir Ashton Lever's Museum when at Leicester House, London* [Fig. 1.1] (exhibited 1786), it appears that Lever's collection was characterized by a neat but abounding display of material; minerals, fossils, bird species, coral samples, and ethnographic implements crowd the wall and adjoining rooms. While certain specimens such as minerals and birds are neatly organized and contained within autonomous display units, the system of classification is less clear elsewhere. A canoe and weapons hang on the same wall as antlers and other specimens of natural history, and a taxidermied elephant looms beside a display of shells and corals. Stone's painting is the only existing visual evidence of the interior of Ashton Lever's original museum at Leicester Square, yet it evidences the artist's detailed knowledge of the museum's contents.

A collection is by definition a group of objects, an aggregate which is not arbitrary, but brought into existence through the agency of a collector. In his essay "The System of Collecting," Jean Baudrillard writes:

the objects in our lives, as distinct from the way we make use of them at a given moment, represent something much more, something profoundly related to subjectivity: for while the object is a resistant material body, it is also, simultaneously, a mental realm over which I hold sway, a thing whose meaning is governed by myself alone... They thereby constitute themselves as a *system* on the basis of which the subject seeks to piece together his world, his personal microcosm.¹

Critics of Ashton Lever's project highlighted his more eccentric personal traits, but none could deny his passion for collecting. The floor-to-ceiling cases that line each room in Stone's painting (and the anonymous copy now in the British Museum) [Fig. 1.2] are

¹ Jean Baudrillard, "The System of Collecting," *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (London: Reaktion Books, 1994), 7.

evocative of the European “cabinets of curiosities,” which became popular among European educated classes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As I will discuss, aspects of this collecting paradigm lasted well into the eighteenth-century. This chapter will examine Lever’s life and work and the social and historical developments that informed the arrangement, organization and display of his collection. It will also survey the means by which historic collections and their organizational structures contributed to the *shaping of knowledge*, in Hooper-Greenhill’s phrase, providing a contextual framework from which to view the visual display and public reception of material culture in Lever’s museum.

Within the boundaries of collection making, objects point to meanings outside their materiality. As Walter Benjamin observed in “Unpacking My Library,” the collector does not emphasize the utilitarian value of his or her possessions, “but studies and loves them as the scene, the stage, of their fate.” He continues, “the most profound enchantment for the collector is the locking of individual items within a magic circle in which they are fixed as the final thrill, the thrill of acquisition, passes over them.”² The subjectivity of the collector is central to the ordering of its contents and the production of meaning. And yet, Lever’s choices were also informed by the social and intellectual structures of his era. I will consider the many elements that contributed to the production of Lever’s museum, along with how it might have been interpreted by visitors in eighteenth-century Britain.

² Walter Benjamin, “Unpacking My Library: A Talk about Book Collecting,” in *Illuminations*, (London: Fontana, 1982), 63.

I. Ashton Lever and the *Holophusicon*

Ashton Lever was born in 1729 to a wealthy family of the landed gentry, and was schooled at Manchester Grammar School and Corpus Christi College, Oxford.³ He began collecting in 1760 with the purchase of foreign shells.⁴ These soon became the focal point of a curiosity collection to which he added a bird aviary with bird specimens numbering 4000.⁵ His collection was housed at his estate at Alkrington Hall near Manchester, which was opened to the public in 1771 and soon attracted local visitors.⁶ The collection was enhanced through gifts and purchases, and Lever also made frequent appeals to friends and acquaintances for information in order to obtain new objects.⁷ He advertised his collection in the Manchester newspapers, encouraging public viewings in the years leading up to the collection's transportation to London.

The published letters and accounts suggest that Lever's collecting efforts were all-consuming, and he began to sell his Manchester property to fund new acquisitions, perhaps "an indication of a reckless acquisitiveness."⁸ At its height the collection contained approximately 26,000 objects. In response to news of Lever's plan for a London museum, John White wrote to his brother, the famed naturalist Gilbert White:

[Lever's] plan is, he says, 'to pursue Natural History and carry the exhibition of it to such a height as no one can imagine; and to make it the most wonderful sight in the world'. Upon this plan I think he is right to exhibit in London, where he will not only collect with more speed, but also make the thing defray its own expenses, which no private fortune alone could possibly equal.⁹

³ Jackson, 37.

⁴ Jackson, 37.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ J.C.H. King, "New Evidence for the Contents of the Leverian Museum," *Journal of the History of Collection* 8, no. 2 (1996): 167.

⁷ Haynes, 3.

⁸ Ibid, 3.

⁹ John White, as quoted in Haynes, 3-4.

In 1774, Lever leased Leicester House (a mansion constructed in Leicester Fields in 1630 for the Earl of Leicester) to display the vast collection, which filled sixteen rooms.¹⁰ The museum, called the *Holophusicon*,¹¹ officially opened its doors on the 13th of February, 1775, with each guest charged an admission of half a guinea.¹² Lever appointed Thomas Waring as secretary and curator of the museum and entrusted the collection to him in his absence.

While objects of ethnography and antiquity were far outnumbered by natural history specimens,¹³ the former counted in the thousands.¹⁴ Many of these were brought back from voyages that had visited the Americas and the Indies.¹⁵ Lever befriended James Cook, and Cook specified that objects collected on the second and third voyages be sent to the museum.¹⁶ In a letter to Lord Sandwich, Hon. Daines Barrington relates the intentions of the late Captains Cook and Clerke:

I take the liberty of informing your lordship that the specimens of Natural History collected in this last voyage were destin'd both by Capt. Cook and the late Capt. Clerke for Sr. Ashton Lever's Museum... The Specimens can no where receive such complete justice as Leicester House, which from the vast additions lately made, may be truly said to be a national honour.¹⁷

The Sandwich Room, retained by the museum's new owner after Lever's passing, contained articles collected on Cook's "third and unhappily last voyage."¹⁸ It included

¹⁰ Jackson, 37. King suggests it was a "12-roomed museum" in "New Evidence," 167.

¹¹ Perhaps a conscious reference to Philip James de Louthembourg's *Eidophusikon* or vice versa (see below for a further explanation of the museum's title).

¹² Jackson, 37.

¹³ King, "New Evidence," 168.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 168.

¹⁵ Jackson, 40.

¹⁶ King, "New Evidence," 168.

¹⁷ Daines Barrington, *Letter to Lord Sandwich, London, 16 June, 1780, Papers of John Montague Sandwich*, MS 7218, National Library of Australia Digital Collections, <http://www.nla.gov.au>. (accessed Sept 20, 2007).

¹⁸ *Leverian Museum, A Companion to the Museum (late Sir Ashton Lever's) removed to Albion Street, the Surrey end of Black Friar's Bridge*. London: 1790. 6. Henceforth, all references to this publication will be

objects from such locations as Nootka Sound, Prince William's Sound, Kamchatka, Tshukutsi [sic] ("the North-east part of Asia"), New Zealand, the Sandwich Islands, Easter Island, the Friendly Islands, various "South Sea Islands," the Marquesas, and Otaheite (Tahiti).¹⁹ He advertised his acquisitions in a local newspaper:

Sir Ashton Lever has the pleasure to inform the public, that through the patronage and liberality of Lord Sandwich, the particular friendship of Mrs Cook, and the generosity of several of the Officers of the voyage.... he is now in possession of the most capital part of the curiosities brought over by the Resolution and Discovery in the last voyage... one room, particularly, contains magnificent dresses, helmets, idols, ornaments, instruments, utensils, etc. etc. of those islands never before discovered.²⁰

This prestigious donation allowed Lever to open four additional rooms at Leicester House.²¹

Despite the mystique constructed around the figure of Cook following his tragic death, these new acquisitions to the museum failed to attract the attention of the public. Although records indicate that Lever's profit was £13,000²² between 1775-1784, this was not enough to keep the museum afloat. Jackson suggests that overspending and extravagant purchases forced Lever to sell the collection to "recoup losses."²³ Whatever the rationale, Lever obtained an Act of Parliament in 1784, which permitted him to pass on the collection by way of a lottery. The British Museum trustees had declined to purchase the collection, and it was perhaps the fear that the collection would be broken up that led to the lottery. Within the Bill of Petition, several prominent individuals

under "Leverian Museum." Parkinson retained Lever's organization, even after the objects were transferred to Albion Place.

¹⁹ Ibid., 6-25.

²⁰ Sir. Ashton Lever, *The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, January 31, 1781, as quoted in Adrienne Kaeppler, "Artificial Curiosities": An Exposition of Native Manufactures Collected on the Three Pacific Voyages of Captain James Cook. R.N. (Honolulu: Bishop Museum P, 1978), 47.

²¹ King, "New Evidence," 168.

²² This revenue was earned from admission fees.

²³ Jackson, 42.

testified to the uniqueness of the collection, arguing that it was “a National Object to preserve [the collection] and keep it together; and that Sir Ashton must risk a great Loss, if he should dispose of it by the usual Way of Sale.”²⁴ Regardless of criticisms, Lever’s passion for collecting was evident to all who visited his museum, and the loss of the collection proved a blow to the amateur naturalist and proprietor.

The sale of lottery tickets ceased on 24 March, 1786, with only 8,000 of the 36,000 issued tickets sold.²⁵ An advertisement in the *Morning Post* announced that “the average amount [spent on the collection] for the last three years being £1833 per annum... No one will hereafter be admitted by the Lottery Tickets.”²⁶ With the majority of tickets still in his possession, Lever was saddened when his ticket was not called. It would take five weeks for the winner to come forward. A visitor to the museum at the time, travel writer Sophie von La Roche, recounts the series of events:

Sir Ashton himself, and his friends as well, thought some magnanimous soul had won it and decided not to put in an appearance... when a barrister turned up with the winning ticket, saying that his late wife had taken part in his lottery unbenown to him and died before the draw.²⁷

The “barrister” in question was James Parkinson, a law stationer who allowed Lever to continue to operate the museum for several months while he presumably researched potential buyers. Lever returned to Alkrington in November of 1786, where he continued

²⁴ Sir William Hamilton, as quoted in House of Commons, Lever’s museum consisting of natural curiosities and productions of art. Petition of Sir Ashton Lever, *Journals of the House of Commons*, 1803, *British Official Publications Collaborative Reader Information Services*, www.bopcris.ac.uk/bop1688/ref1572.html (accessed Sept 20, 2007).

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Lever in Jackson, 42.

²⁷ Jackson, 44.

to manage his estate. However, two years later he died suddenly, which the *Annals of Manchester* suggests was by way of “self-poisoning.”²⁸

Unable to find a buyer for the collection, Parkinson maintained the museum with as much care and diligence as Lever. He could not afford rent at Leicester House, but transported the collection in 1787 to the Rotunda at Albion Place, south of the Blackfriars Bridge.²⁹ Moreover, he embraced the fact that Lever’s name was permanently associated with the collection, advertising it as “the Leverian Museum.”³⁰ Parkinson maintained the museum until 1806, when he was forced to sell the collection, which was dispersed to various hands.

The image of the interior of the rotunda at Albion place is seen in an engraving for *The Companion to late Sir Ashton Lever’s Museum* (1791) [Fig. 1.3]. This official companion, published by Parkinson and compiled by George Shaw of the British Museum, was the first attempt at a systematized description or catalogue of the museum. This publication is indispensable to my study, as it provides a glimpse into how the arrangement of ethnographic objects was carried out. The description of each room lists objects case by case, often attaching a broad geographic regional designation to the groupings of ethnographic objects. The two other publications associated with the museum under Parkinson’s tenure, *Visits to the Leverian Museum* and *Museum Leverianum*, are not discussed in this chapter, but have been consulted. From these publications, one may begin to comprehend the breadth and scope of Lever’s collecting practices.

²⁸ Ibid., 48.

²⁹ Ibid., 50.

³⁰ Ibid.

II. Theatre of the World: Spectacle and Curiosity in Lever's Museum

Susan Burney's 1778 letter to her sister, the novelist, playwright and diarist Frances Burney, records a visit to the museum. From her impressions, we may surmise the overwhelming effect that his collection must have had on the typical visitor:

Saturday Morning we spent extremely well at Mr. L—Sir Ashton Lever's Museum I mean... I wish I was a good Natural Historian that I might give you some idea of our entertainment in seeing birds, beasts, shells, fossils, etc—but I can scarce remember a dozen names of the thousand I heard that were new to me... Among the beasts a hippopotamus (sea-horse) of an immense size, an elephant, a tyger from the Tower—a Greenland bear and its cub—a wolf—two or three leopards—an Otaheite dog, a very coarse ugly looking creature—a camelion—a young crocodile—a room full of monkeys—one of which presents the company with an *Italian Song*—another is reading a book—another, the most horrid of all, is put in the attitude of *Venus de Medicis*, and is scarce fit to be look'd at... There were a great many things from Otaheite—a compleat dress of a Chinese Mandarine, made of blue and brown sattin—of an African Prince—A suit of armour that they say belonged to Oliver Cromwel—the Dress worn in Charles 1st time—etc—etc—etc—³¹

Burney's narrative breaks down into a continually shifting description of a gaze moving from object to object. Her impressions fail to register any coherent connection between the objects and their placement within the thematic rooms. Such a lack of connection reveals a predilection for eclecticism, an aspect of the museum that bought criticism from some naturalists. Yet the museum was promoted as a "map of mankind"; a 1782 article noted that the common observer could see "the objects before him make his active fancy travel from pole to pole through torrid and through frigid zones."³² For these enthusiasts, the encyclopedic collection presented a microcosm of the world's inhabitants and species for visual consumption.

³¹ Susan Burney, "Susan to Frances Burney, at Chesington, July 16, 1778," *The Early Diary of Frances Burney, 1768-1778*, Vol. 2, ed. Annie Raine Ellis, (London: George Bell and Sons, 1889), 249.

³² *The European Magazine*, Jan, 1781, 21. Quoted in Haynes, 9.

While it is tempting to characterize Lever's project as symptomatic of a craze for "randomly purchasing knickknacks from odd corners of space and time and recomposing them pointlessly in a curio cabinet,"³³ as James Bunn has described the project of curiosity collecting, museum scholars have argued against such sweeping assertions. The cabinet as *theatrum mundi* was an Early Modern discursive model that popularized education and spectacularized empirical investigations of the artificial and natural realms. It was a microcosmic arrangement of the universe in miniature, and ultimately a source of meditation.³⁴ According to Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, it functioned: "firstly, to bring objects together within a setting and a discourse where the material things (made meaningful) could act to represent all the different parts of the existent; and secondly, having assembled a representative collection of meaningful objects, to display, or present, this assemblage in such a way that the ordering of the material both represented and demonstrated the knowing of the world."³⁵ Lever's museum closely resembles aspects of this tradition, particularly in its attempt to survey vast regions of the globe, presenting a multitude of objects and specimens for the visitor's inspection.

John Locke was a key proponent of inquiry arising from the study of external material things. As Barbara Maria Stafford notes in *Artful Science: Enlightenment Entertainment and the Eclipse of Visual Education*, "empiricism and the observation of the natural world became a duty for all in post-Lockean England."³⁶ However, empirical

³³ James Bunn, "The Aesthetics of British Mercantilism." *New Literary History* (1980): 303.

³⁴ "Enshrined marvels were thus mediating substances, unexpected symbolic and functional gifts binding the corporeal to the mental realm. As microspecimens culled from the three kingdoms of nature, the four continents, all historical epochs, and embodying every technique, they were also material objects of meditation, stimulating the search for coherence." Stafford, *Visual Analogy: Consciousness as the Art of Connecting* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), 169-170.

³⁵ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (NY: Routledge, 1992), 82.

³⁶ Barbara Maria Stafford, *Artful Science: Enlightenment, Education and the Eclipse of Visual Education* (Cambridge: MIT P, 1994), 225.

observation did not always fulfill a scholarly role. The three-dimensional encyclopedic collections made visible the world for the pleasure of an audience who could either enjoy the scene in passive consumption or within active dialogue. “Both the French upper classes and the British gentry looked to the universe as a source of nontaxing learning achieved through contemplation. Horizontal skimming distinguished the galant or polite viewer from the vertical probing of the toiling professional,” notes Stafford.³⁷

The mix of education and spectacle lasted into the nineteenth-century in museums such as William Bullock’s *Egyptian Hall* (opened in 1812), as it was often called for its unique exterior. Bullock acquired some of Lever’s ethnographic collections at auction.³⁸ Carla Yanni observes in *Nature’s Museums* that the museum’s natural history displays were well organized into different categories, but that one room called “the Pantherion” contained both cultural and natural objects in a comprehensive, theatrical environment.³⁹ As Yanni describes, “visitors entered the Pantherion through a cave, then were surprised by the spectacle of a panorama of the Indian jungle. The stuffed animals were staged in frightening battles.”⁴⁰ This elicitation of sensory wonder was evident in Lever’s colourful displays. While he did not go so far as to recreate whole environments, the scope and size of his collection was designed to awe the visitor.⁴¹

³⁷ Ibid., 226.

³⁸ See Adrienne Kaeppler, “Cook Voyage Provenance of the ‘Artificial Curiosities’ of Bullock’s Museum,” *Man* 9, no. 1 (March, 1974).

³⁹ Carla Yanni, *Nature’s Museums: Victorian Science and the Architecture of Display* (Princeton Architectural Press, 2005), 27.

⁴⁰ Yanni, 27.

⁴¹ For a description of Bullock’s later exhibitions, wherein “Bullock used innovative ideas to transform material culture from the outlandish to a field for sympathetic understanding,” see Susan Pearce, “Collections and exhibitions at the Egyptian Hall, London, 1816–25,” *Journal of the History of Collections* 20:1 (May 2008), 17–35; Stephen Greenblatt discusses the notions of ‘*resonance* and *wonder*’ in relation to museum and gallery display paradigms. *Resonance*, according to Greenblatt, is the transcendence of the formal characteristics of an object, to the consideration of cultural forces and conditions of production.⁴¹ *Wonder* is the object’s ability to hold the viewer’s gaze by virtue of its single, unique qualities. While the proportional relationship between resonance and wonder differs from institution to institution,

Further evidence that Lever adopted aspects of the polymathic *theatrum mundi* lies in his museum's name, the *Holophusicon*. Sometimes called the *Holophusikon* or *Olophusium*, the name translates from Greek, meaning "the whole (holon) of nature (phusikon)."⁴² J.C.H. King has suggested that this title likely references the popular spectacles of Philip James de Loutherbourg⁴³ entitled the *Eidophusikon* or "image of nature"⁴⁴ which had become a sensation in London upon its 1781 debut. Lever, however, had opened his museum to the public at Leicester Square in 1775, which suggests that Loutherbourg may have adopted the name *Eidophusikon* in reference to the museum and not the other way around.⁴⁵ Regardless of the order of succession, they shared the aims of presenting public spectacle in the form of panoramic views of nature and its works. Loutherbourg, an established landscape painter, had moved to London in 1771 and began working as a set designer for theatres at Drury Lane.⁴⁶ He channeled his new-found interest in theatrical performance into the moving image display of his own invention; the British Museum's collections database describes the *Eidophusikon* as "consist[ing] of changes of scenes accompanied by coloured light effects and vocal and instrumental music."⁴⁷ Opened in 1781 in Lisle Street, Leicester Square, the *Eidophusikon* held up to 130 people who sat before a stage ten feet wide by six feet wide,⁴⁸ as seen in the only

contemporary museum displays continue to appeal to these two sensations. Stephen Greenblatt, "Resonance and Wonder," in *Exhibiting Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. I. Karp and S. D. Lavine: 42-56 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991).

⁴² J.C.H. King, "Sir Ashton Lever," *Provenance: Twelve Collectors of Ethnographic Art in England 1760-1990*, ed. Hermione Waterfield and J.C.H. King (Geneva: Somogy Art Publishers, 2006), 27.

⁴³ See King, "New Evidence," 175. The artist also went by Phillipe Jacques de Loutherbourg.

⁴⁴ Gloria Groom, "Art, Illustration, and Enterprise in Late Eighteenth-Century English Art: A Painting by Phillipe Jacques de Loutherbourg," *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 18, no. 2, 128.

⁴⁵ As J.C.H. King asserts in his study of Ashton Lever.

⁴⁶ Michael Kitson, "Loutherbourg at Kenwood," *Burlington Magazine* 115, no. 844 (Jul, 1973): 482.

⁴⁷ British Museum, "Curator's Comments," *Edward Francis Burney (Drawn by); A view of Philip James de Loutherbourg's Eidophusikon*, British Museum Collections Database www.britishmuseum.org/research (accessed 10 May 2008).

⁴⁸ Ibid.

remaining visual evidence of the performances, a drawing by Edward Francis Burney dating to 1782 [Fig. 1.4].

Gloria Groom notes that "the *Eidophusikon* conveyed a greater illusion of reality than had heretofore been seen in the English theater. The program consisted of scenery alone, which presented images of nature at its most dramatic and picturesque."⁴⁹ An amateur naturalist, Lever's aims were not those of the specialist, but instead focused on the achievement of a broad impression. Like Louthembourg's moving images, the museum could transport the viewer by way of an illusory and composite picture of the world. The initial popularity of both *Holophusikon* and *Eidophusikon* further demonstrate that eighteenth-century audiences saw nature as not only a source of education, but of entertainment. Moreover, these examples demonstrate that both museum and theatrical spectacle functioned as simulacra; they were microcosmic compositions of the world as pictured in European vision.

As a source of "nontaxing learning", the formation of cabinets in polite British society also served to advance their owners' status amongst their peers. In her article, "A 'Natural' Exhibitioner: Sir Ashton Lever and his *Holophusikon*," Clare Haynes notes that natural history was dominated by gentleman amateurs such as Lever who saw collecting as suitable to their social standing.⁵⁰ Specialization was uncommon, as Haynes notes, because it would have breached "the boundaries of politeness, demonstrating thereby a weakness for the particular, rather than the moral and philosophical interest in the general expected of a gentleman."⁵¹ Lever was a member of the Royal Society, an organization established in 1662 that was devoted to a range of natural philosophical enquiry amongst

⁴⁹ Groom, 128.

⁵⁰ Haynes, 2.

⁵¹ Ibid., 2.

learned gentlemen. The display of curiosities and monstrosities, as P. Fontes Da Costa explains, was an integral component of Royal Society meetings, used as a method of exhibiting new discoveries to fellow society members. As a kind of “learned entertainment,”⁵² the fellows of the Royal Society could increase their status as collectors and encourage civil discourse in a show-and-tell of exotic or rare curiosities. Likewise, Lever felt it suitable to publish the sensational claim in the advertisement for the museum’s grand opening: “As Mr Lever has in his collection some very curious monkies and monsters, which might disgust the Ladies, a separate room is appropriated for their exhibition, and the examination of those only who chuse it.”⁵³

While it could be justified as a gentlemanly pursuit, the activity of curiosity collecting increasingly became a subject of ridicule, especially towards the late eighteenth-century. The naturalist and collector Joseph Banks, famed for his travels on Cook’s second voyage, was called a ‘macaroni’ by satirists – “an increasingly derogatory term for a well-to-do and fashionable young person apt to indulge in whims such as collecting,” according to Robert Huxley.⁵⁴ Lever’s tendency to group broad categories of objects and species with no regard for origin or class was roundly criticized by Banks himself.⁵⁵ In fact, Lever’s character was judged to be that of a showman, not a man of science. Even George III, who knighted Lever in 1778 for his duties as landowner and High Sheriff of Lancashire (1771), was said to have commented that Lever “had

⁵² P. Fontes Da Costa, “The Culture of Curiosity at the Royal Society in the First Half of the Eighteenth-century,” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 56, no. 2 (May 2002): 159.

⁵³ *The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, Feb, 4 1775. Quoted in Jackson, 37.

⁵⁴ Robert Huxley, “Natural history collectors and their collections: ‘simpling macaronis’ and instruments of empire,” in *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth-century*, ed. Kim Sloan (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 88.

⁵⁵ Jackson, 42.

produced one of the great curiosities the world ever saw, in his *own* person.”⁵⁶ Also known for his creation of the Royal Toxophilite Society in 1781, a group devoted to the practice and promotion of archery, Lever was painted in a rather unflattering light by Fanny Burney in 1782: “He may be an admirable *naturalist*, but I think if in other matters you leave the ‘ist’ out, you will not wrong him. He looks fully sixty years old yet he had dressed not only two young men but himself, in a green jacket, a round hat with green feathers, a bundle of arrows under one arm, and a bow in the other, and thus accoutered as a forester he pranced about.”⁵⁷

Since the second half of the seventeenth-century, there had been growing attempts in academic and philosophical circles to curb “curiosity.”⁵⁸ French dictionaries defined the trait as the “desire to know or learn everything” and Edmund Burke called curiosity the “the first and simplest emotion,” associating it with childishness and an indiscriminate desire for novelties.⁵⁹ By the late eighteenth-century, it was increasingly associated with luxury trade goods, understood as an impetus for commerce.⁶⁰ This fervour for collecting has been correlated with the height of British Mercantilism, approximately spanning the period from 1688 to 1763.⁶¹ Although political economist Adam Smith attempted to defend luxury as an aspect of civilized society,⁶² it nevertheless bore the negative connotations associated with insatiable desire, a phenomenon also

⁵⁶ King, “New Evidence,” 168.

⁵⁷ Fanny Burney as quoted in King, “New Evidence,” 168.

⁵⁸ Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and curiosities: Paris and Venice 1500-1800*, trans. by Elizabeth Wiles-Porter (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 64.

⁵⁹ Edmund Burke as quoted in Da Costa, 147.

⁶⁰ Da Costa, 147.

⁶¹ These dates roughly correspond to a period characterized by early colonial endeavors wherein colonies were seen as producers of goods, and not yet consumers as part of the larger Empire. See Bunn, 304-305.

⁶² Ibid.

roundly critiqued by René Descartes.⁶³ Cartesian *a priori* reasoning relies on deduction through innate thought-processes. While Cartesian philosophy was gaining prominence in European continental schools of thought, Luke Syson suggests that the Baconian inductive method was favoured in eighteenth-century Britain.⁶⁴ Induction relies on the accumulation of material evidence, such as vast curiosity collections, from which to draw generalizations. While these two strains of thought were not mutually exclusive, (many scholars attempted to combine experiment and hypothesis), overflowing curiosity collections remained popular in Britain well into the early nineteenth century, even in light of misgivings among some academic circles.⁶⁵

In addition to the definitions of curiosity that condemned a passion for the rare and fashionable, Krzysztof Pomian also points to the ways that the literature establishes the term *curieux* as synonymous with “he who wants to establish a special relationship with totality” and “he who enjoys a special relationship to totality.”⁶⁶ Referring back to the notion of the *theatrum mundi*, Pomian notes how curiosity collectors sought out rare and unusual objects “capable of rendering the apprehension of a given totality possible”⁶⁷ Stafford theorizes the desire to see a totality or underlying unifying force within a multitude of dissimilar objects. In her study *Visual Analogy: Consciousness as the Art of Connecting*, she defines analogy as “a metamorphic and metaphoric practice for weaving

⁶³ Luke Syson, “The ordering of the artificial world: collecting, classification and progress,” in *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth-century*, 115.

⁶⁴ According to Francis Bacon, all gentlemen required: “a Goodly, huge cabinet, wherein whatsoever the hand of man by exquisit art or engine has made rare in stuff, form or motion; whatsoever the singularity, chance and the shuffle of things hath produced; whatsoever Nature has wrought in things that want life and may be kept; shall be sorted and included.” Francis Bacon, *Gesta Grayorum*, (1594). Quoted in Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor (eds), “Introduction,” *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Europe*, (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1985), 1.

⁶⁵ Syson, 115.

⁶⁶ Pomian, 56.

⁶⁷ Pomian 57

discordant particulars into a partial concordance, spur[ring] the imagination to discover similarities in dissimilarities.”⁶⁸ The “polymathic epoch of wonders and curiosities” was largely displaced in the nineteenth-century, when romantic individualism and allegory took its place.⁶⁹ Analogic collections were much maligned for their “eclectic, uncritical mixing of images that seduced ignorant viewers by the apparent naturalism of their shared looks and content.”⁷⁰ Stafford attempts to recover analogical thinking from its positioning as “mystical incoherence,” asserting its expressive potential within a particularly *visual* realm of imagined correspondences.⁷¹

Pomian argues that natural history collections like Lever’s often legitimized and managed the pursuit of curiosity collecting within an institutional framework aimed at the improvement and education of society. Evidence for this assertion is found in the *Encyclopédie*, where the entry for *Histoire Naturelle* praises the natural history collector: “They make perhaps just as large a contribution to the advancement of *Natural History* as [scholars], as they facilitate observation by bringing together nature’s creations in these same cabinets which grow daily in number”⁷² The image of the “dilettante” is re-made in the service of natural history, and the collection – as opposed to a product of irrational passions – now acts as a storehouse of learning. Thus, while he was not a trained scientist, Lever’s active pursuit of natural history specimens, both common and rare, mitigated his image as a collector of curiosities.

Despite the promotion of collecting within a secular educational system, many eighteenth-century individuals synthesized their collecting rationales with the notion of

⁶⁸ Stafford, *Visual Analogy*, 9.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 19.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 21.

⁷¹ Ibid., 2-4.

⁷² Denis Diderot, *Encyclopédie*, Volume VIII, 228, as quoted in Pomian, 138.

divine order. Sir Hans Sloane is a fitting example of a gentleman collector whose aims, like Lever's, were highly individualistic. Sloane's collection was later bequeathed to the British public in his will, forming the beginnings of the British Museum. His goal was to gather "as many examples together from as wide an area of the earth as possible" in order to name, classify and organize them. Yet according to Sloane, his collections also revealed a spiritual dimension, or "a belief in a God who could act as he chose, in a way unintelligible to helpless mankind, but which man might move towards understanding through Newton's and Locke's principles of observation and experience."⁷³ An emphasis on rarity supposedly encouraged contemplation of the anomalous aspects of nature and "the ingenuity of humankind at its centre."⁷⁴

Like Sloane, Lever's collection inspired invocations of divine creation. The humanistic and spiritual dimensions associated with the *Holophusicon*, or the "whole of nature," is made evident in *A Poetical Epistle to Sir Ashton Lever* by Percival Stockdale. The 1784 poem, a tribute to the collector, claims that "Lever expands creation's mighty roll,"⁷⁵ exposing the widest vision of the world:

In order fair, we view, disposed by thee,
Inhabitants of earth, and air, and sea;
The various wonders of our globe explore,
From Siam's realm, to California's shoar;⁷⁶

⁷³ Sloan, " 'Aimed at universality and belonging to the nation': the Enlightenment and the British Museum." In *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth-century*, 18.

⁷⁴ Syson, 110.

⁷⁵ Percival Stockdale, *Three poems: I. Siddons: - a poem. II. A poetical epistle to Lever. III. An elegy on the death of a young officer of the army*, London: printed for W. Flexney, 1784, *English Short Title Catalogue. Eighteenth-century Collections Online*. <http://galenet.galegroup.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca> (accessed Feb 10, 2008), 18, line 13.

⁷⁶ Stockdale, 18 line 17-20.

Along with a nationalistic cry for England to restore its former glory, the poem also points to fundamental associations of natural and artificial objects as elements of God's divine hand. Imploring the reader to "repair to Lever's temple, and adore."⁷⁷

We, surely, tread on consecrated ground;
 How nature's Author strikes us, all around!
 I feel profaneness in each idle found!
 'Tis God who speaks; will you refuse to hear?
 Nay, he reproveth; will you not learn to fear?⁷⁸
 ...For thy magnificent, and varied store,
 Which gives to Science views unknown before;
 Which more unfolds the worlds harmonious plan,
 The mind eternal, and the mind of man⁷⁹

Here we see concrete evidence of the argument for the relationship between works of nature (God) and works of humankind carried over from virtuoso cabinets. Both creator and Man, *His* creation, are integrated into a cosmological schematic. The collection was a means by which the world could be conceived as a unified system of correspondences and visual concordances, revealing a divine and harmonious order.

III. Museum Epistemologies

A sale catalogue of Lever's library in 1786 indicates that the collector was in possession of more than twenty foreign collection catalogues dating from the early seventeenth-century onwards.⁸⁰ This suggests that Lever was informed of European collecting traditions spanning at least the two hundred years prior to the establishment of his own museum. An analysis of the display and arrangement of Ashton Lever's collection may therefore be informed by a historiographic survey of the museum as both

⁷⁷ Ibid., 19 line 34.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 19 lines 40-44.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 20 lines 53-56.

⁸⁰ Haynes, 4.

private and public institution. Scholars frequently locate the early formations of the modern museum in the private princely cabinets of curiosity (*Wunderkammern*, *Kunstammern*, and *studioli*) of continental Europe. The Renaissance and late Renaissance cabinet of curiosities, or *Wunderkammer*, have often been misinterpreted as a “disordered jumble of unconnected objects, many of which were fraudulent in character.”⁸¹ These collections had in common their combination of natural history specimens, human-made objects and items associated with historical events or individuals. They were the object of desire for many princes and nobles in Europe, who would create or have fashioned for them representative collections of natural and man-made articles brought together to create a private vision of the world.⁸²

As noted, by the mid-sixteenth century and through the seventeenth-century, the cabinet was a widespread phenomenon among the various educated social classes in continental Europe, and according to Kim Sloan, regarded as an “essential attribute of the Renaissance man.”⁸³ “Cabinets of the World” such as the Studiolo of Francesco I and the *Kunstammern* and *Wunderkammern* north of the Alps placed their princely owners at the centre of the collection’s functionality.⁸⁴ The collection – whether arranged according to a secret ‘memory system’ whose ordering mnemonically spelled out messages to the privileged viewer or contained in elaborately painted and symbolically positioned cupboards – served to reinforce the status of the owner/viewer as privileged subject.⁸⁵ As

⁸¹ Ibid., 79.

⁸² Sloan., 78.

⁸³ Arthur MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries* (New Haven: Yale U P, 2007), 12.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 105-115.

⁸⁵ For a discussion of the “Collector as Prometheus” and the cabinets of Francesco I and Giulio Camillo see Horst Bredekamp, *The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine: The Kunstkammer and the Evolution of Nature, Art and Technology*, trans. Allison Brown (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 1995), 21.

Shelton has observed, such cabinets were a departure from medieval God-centered hierarchies, to which the church held the largest collections of objects, treasured for their magico-religious associations.⁸⁶

During the eighteenth-century, private collections were increasingly opened to a broader audience. Many of the royal collections were later transformed into national museums, heralded by the creation of public access to the royal collection at the Louvre in 1792.⁸⁷ Private cabinets were also incorporated into the broader public sphere, as was the case with Sloane's and Lever's. Gradually, too, museums with significant natural history collections began to model their organization after Carl Linnaeus's system of taxonomy.⁸⁸ Yet while professionals in the scientific field were adopting more rigorous modes of classification, many collectors were slow to take to these methods. As Susan Pearce points out, "artificial curiosities" – which were increasingly regarded for no more than their curiosity value – "together with some natural history, some historical pieces from Britain and some objects of interest to the *virtuosi*... were still being formed into collections of essentially a seventeenth-century type as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries progressed."⁸⁹ Lever's collection was, thus, one example of the persistence of seventeenth-century museological paradigms, combining an emphasis on the empirical and theatrical components of his display.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Anthony Shelton, "Cabinets of Transgression: Renaissance Collections and the Incorporation of the New World," in *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (London: Reaktion Books, 1994), 177-203.

⁸⁷ Susan Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections: A Cultural Study* (Leicester: Leicester UP, 1992), 99-100.

⁸⁸ Pearce, *Museums*, 101.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁹⁰ "This need to handle or perform the contents in order to understand them connects the *Wunderschrank* to the worlds of commerce and theatre. As late as the 1770s, Sir Ashton Lever... was described by a contemporary "as busy in the arrangement of curiosities as a tradesman in his shop." Thomas Barritt as quoted in Stafford, "Artificial Intensity: Images, Instruments and the Technology of Amplification,"

Lever was not alone in his eclecticism. Two contemporaneous collections highlight the prevalence of spectacle and analogy in the eighteenth-century. Barbara Maria Stafford refers to polymathic collections such as Christoph Laurence Joseph de Pauli's druggist shop (captured in Salomon Kleiner's 1751 illustrations), noting that the "multicultural remains cacophonously 'chatted' among themselves and with the spectator... their manifest incompleteness precluded incorporation into a seamless narrative and controlling taxonomy. Delighting the amateur while defying the classifier, these collections were anamorphic."⁹¹ Stafford's example demonstrates that the eclectic intermixture of grotesque and ordinary, natural and artificial, antique and modern lasted well into the eighteenth-century. The evident gaps in these collections were to be filled in by the viewer's imagination. Thus the lack of overarching organizational structure was not only an impossible but necessary element of such spectacle.

The "open-endedness" of another important eighteenth-century collection precluded its scientific validity. Members of the previously mentioned Royal Society sought to create a repository that was as complete as possible, but these aims were soon proven to be unrealistic. The discipline of Natural History, taken up by the Royal Society in the eighteenth-century, allowed for the juxtaposition of the visible material world.⁹² The new societies and institutions that emerged in this period held education and teaching as their explicit aims. The shift from private to public collections saw the formation of non-religious brotherhoods of sorts based on scientific inquiry and gentlemanly preoccupations. As one of these institutions, the Royal Society was to be a college and

Collection, Laboratory, Theater: Scenes of Knowledge in the 17th century, ed. Helmar Schramm et. al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 344.

⁹¹ Barbara Maria Stafford, *Artful Science: Enlightenment Entertainment and the Eclipse of Visual Education*, Cambridge: MIT P, 1994, 238.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 137.

national research centre that provided the means for experiment and empirical inquiry.⁹³ Basing its tenets on the Baconian⁹⁴ inductive method, The Royal Society required the collection of as much material as possible to become the literal storehouse of raw data for the nation.⁹⁵ Thus, in theory, the collection of “ordinary” materials was just as important as those that were considered “rare” or “curious” in nature.

Despite its rigorous scientific aims, the Royal Society’s Repository has been deemed a failure by scholars, firstly because it could never fulfill its premise as a “complete” collection⁹⁶ and secondly because it was not altogether devoid of earlier Renaissance cabinet characteristics. In fact, as Michael Hunter notes in his study of the Repository, the collection was “dominated by the exotic and the monstrous at the expense of ordinary items.”⁹⁷ Gifts comprised the largest accessions, and these often reflected the tastes of the benefactors, who did not necessarily subscribe to the scientific or Baconian ideals of the Society and its proponents.⁹⁸ The haphazard nature of the Repository in reality prevented its members from attaining a “perfect” collection. Thus, Hunter concludes that “the repository was less different from virtuoso cabinets than had initially been intended.”⁹⁹

As discussed in the Introduction, in her *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, Hooper-Greenhill closely models her history of the Western museum on Foucault’s

⁹³ Ibid., 146.

⁹⁴ Philosopher Francis Bacon (1561-1626); induction is defined as “a method of reasoning in which a general rule or conclusion is drawn from particular facts or examples.” *Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. Catherine Soanes (Oxford: Oxford U P, 2002), 424.

⁹⁵ Stafford, *Artful*, 147.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 158.

⁹⁷ Michael Hunter, “The Cabinet Institutionalized: the Royal Society’s ‘Repository’ and its Background,” *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Europe*, ed. Oliver Impey and Arthur Macgregor (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1985), 165.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 165.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 166.

notion of a series of successive epistemes as articulated in *The Order of Things*. Foucault conceives of the episteme as a set of principles that govern the ordering of the physical world, more specifically “the unconscious, but positive and productive set of relations within which knowledge is produced and rationality defined.”¹⁰⁰ Thus, in his influential study, Foucault examines the historically contingent foundations of epistemological formations like museums – sites where knowledge is defined, ordered and rationalized through the systematic arrangement of material objects in relation to others. Hooper-Greenhill applies this model directly to her case studies, whereby each museum age is conceived as reflective of the epistemological foundations of its time.

Hooper-Greenhill argues that the development of the museum cannot be traced through a “linear progressive history of an essentialist ‘museum,’ ” but rather should be examined through an “effective history” in which Foucault’s epistemes are invoked to account for changes in the production of knowledge.¹⁰¹ For instance, the “Renaissance episteme” was manifested through the employment of *similitude* as a governing organizational principle. Language did not have a representational function, as the word and the thing itself were not distinct. The Renaissance methodologies of ordering are, according to Hooper-Greenhill, based on resemblances, “with things being read for their hidden relationships to each other.”¹⁰² Objects could be literally read metonymically from their positioning within a string of semantic entities.

In Foucauldian terms, the mid seventeenth-century saw a shift from the lingering Renaissance episteme to the “classical episteme.” The classical episteme is characterized

¹⁰⁰ Michel Foucault as quoted in Eilean Hooper Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, (NY: Routledge, 1992), 12.

¹⁰¹ Hooper-Greenhill, 21-22.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 14.

by the dissolution of the profound connection between words and things, whereby language becomes “a way of organizing a representation of signs.”¹⁰³ In the Renaissance episteme, “signs were then part of things themselves, whereas in the seventeenth century they become modes of representation.”¹⁰⁴ Recognized for its signifying function, language is harnessed for its ability to order, name and classify. One such model is the taxonomy of Linnaeus, which maps out the entire diversity of the natural world according to a Latin nomenclature.¹⁰⁵ Hooper-Greenhill argues that similitude no longer underlined the function of the cabinet; rather it was visual *difference* that legitimized objects in their collection and display.

Hooper-Greenhill’s model, which represents the history of museums as a series of ruptures from one episteme to the next, may be challenged by collections such as Lever’s. As David Bates argues in “Idols and Insight: An Enlightenment Topography of Knowledge,” the Enlightenment was not monolithic but in fact contained dual characteristics: “There are two Enlightenments presented... one absolute and deadly, one open-ended and life affirming.”¹⁰⁶ In his aspiration to reveal “a far more fragile Enlightenment,” Bates cites Denis Diderot’s open-ended and pluralistic studies of multiplicity.¹⁰⁷ Diderot’s *Encyclopédie* was, according to Bates, a “living organism”¹⁰⁸ in its fluid scope. Likewise, the polymathic cabinets of curiosity outlined by Stafford, the

¹⁰³ Ibid., 133.

¹⁰⁴ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (NY: Vintage Books, 1970), 129.

¹⁰⁵ Foucault, 130.

¹⁰⁶ David Bates, “Idols and Insight: An Enlightenment Topography of Knowledge,” *Representations* 73 (Winter 2001): 3.

¹⁰⁷ Bates, 2.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

Repository as theorized by Hunter , and Lever’s eclectic displays represent examples of an inherent incompleteness that was a feature of the microcosmic “cabinet of the world.”

These observations about the haphazard organization of eighteenth-century collections reveal fissures within Hooper-Greenhill’s application of Foucauldian methodology. While the classical episteme may be largely characterized by principles of naming and order based on immediate visibility,¹⁰⁹ the collections that fall into this period are not by any means homogeneous in their organization of visible variables. As Susan Pearce notes, the transition from earlier museum models to organization reflective of Enlightenment principles was a gradual process, and eighteenth-century museums drew from both the new classificatory regimes and the Renaissance exploration of similitude in cabinets of curiosities.¹¹⁰

Lever’s museum does not conform to the discrete case studies of the classical episteme as outlined by Hooper-Greenhill, but traversed overlapping sets of epistemological boundaries. This study thus tests some of the assertions in Hooper-Greenhill’s oft-cited publication. Elements such as curiosity and banality, scholarship and spectacle, analogy and differentiation – these features of the museum competed all at once within the rooms of the *Holophusicon*. Lever’s Enlightenment project, like the Royal Society’s Repository and de Pauli’s pharmacy, contained a mix of museological approaches.

IV. Exhibiting Ethnography

Lever’s display of material culture may be cited as a precursor to the modern anthropological museum. However, as I have explored, his museum lacked the

¹⁰⁹ Foucault, 137-8.

¹¹⁰ Pearce, *Museums*, 103.

overarching system of arrangement and linear chronology that would later become the standard for nineteenth century anthropological display methods. The *Companion* describes a dizzying mix of objects; for instance, the display “On the Wainscot near the Fire-place,” includes several tomahawks, a Persian sword, the “skeleton Head of Hippopotamus,” a truncheon “taken up from the bottom of the Thames,” a “Cubic Christallization of Salt” from Cheshire, a “Specimen of Penmanship” and a “Favourite Dog, of a particular friend of Sir Ashton Lever’s.”¹¹¹ With this lack of scientific organization in mind, I now examine in more detail the ways that material culture was organized in Lever’s museum and look specifically at how ethnographic objects were viewed in relation to other components of the collection.

Why, first of all, did Lever’s museum at times integrate natural history specimens with objects of historic or ethnographic interest? Lacking disciplinary foundations, the study and organization of artificial curiosities in the eighteenth-century drew from Renaissance and late Renaissance organizational models, in addition to methodologies paralleling the nascent discipline of natural history. This enterprise was not a straightforward one, however, and individual collectors approached the organization of material culture from multiple directions. By looking at historical precursors for comparison, we may gain insight into the historic precedents for Lever’s display.

In the sixteenth-century, the sheer quantity of material flooding European cities increased with advances in exploration and trade. Subsequent to the Council of Trent (1545-1563), which facilitated more missionary work abroad, clerics such as the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher oversaw the influx of objects from new parts of the globe for the

¹¹¹ Leverian Museum, 5.

Roman College collection.¹¹² Anthony Shelton discusses the arrangement of Kircher's collection, which followed a symmetrical organization, so as to illustrate a "harmonious unity of the world."¹¹³ By the mid sixteenth-century, material objects were divided into the categories of *macrocosm* and *microcosm*.¹¹⁴ While I have established that Renaissance ordering, as a whole, conceived of collections as microcosmic versions of the world, these two terms were applied as direct classifiers of works of God (macrocosm) and works of Man (microcosm). These two worlds functioned dialectically, often classifying human-crafted objects as the "ape of nature" in the new categories of *naturalia* and *artificialia*.¹¹⁵ The relationship between the natural and artificial world referenced the relation of God and man, and thus these categories, although now distinct, were still very much interconnected.¹¹⁶

While collections were increasingly divided into binary distinctions between artificial and natural products, many collections attempted to illustrate the position of human-made objects in the spectrum between God's work and nature's work. This connection was also noted by Francis Bacon, who called human art (*ars*), the third¹¹⁷ class in natural history, since "the *artificialia* and the *naturalia* differ neither in form nor essence, but solely in the means of their creation."¹¹⁸ Horst Bredekamp notes that antique sculpture was also often regarded as the bridge in the gap between works of nature and works of man. Bredekamp conceptualizes a "theory of collecting as man's attempt to

¹¹² MacGregor, 50.

¹¹³ Shelton, 185.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 90.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Hooper-Greenhill, 90.

¹¹⁷ "The first is a description of species as they were created; the second, of deviations in these species; and the third is the products of artistic technological processing of natural materials." Bredekamp, 65

¹¹⁸ Francis Bacon, *De Augmentis* (1623), as quoted in Bredekamp, 66.

control nature” as a chain: “*Natural formations – Ancient sculptures – Works of Art – Machines.*”¹¹⁹ Renaissance collectors were very interested in the ways that sculpture was created by both human hands and by nature (natural materials).¹²⁰ This view was often extended to encompass all works of craftsmanship, as indicated by Bacon’s method. Bredekamp observes that while “a general distinction existed between ‘artificial curiosities’ (the productions of exotic cultures) and ‘antiquities’ (the relics of ancient peoples).... in practice this boundary was continually transgressed as contemporary ‘primitive’ societies were compared and likened to ancient cultures”¹²¹ The “necessary proximity” of natural and artificial relates to “certain parallelisms of method and approach” between taxonomies of natural history and antiquarianism developed in the eighteenth-century.¹²²

From this philosophical reasoning, the integrated organization of collections persisted in select cases well into the eighteenth-century. Like Lever, Sir Hans Sloane wove together his collection of natural and artificial curiosities, regarding it as essential that both types of objects be viewed together.¹²³ Luke Syson observes how Sloane, like his Renaissance forebears, “was interested in how material productions could be transformed by the human hand,” thus putting natural materials with human productions deriving from the same or similar materials.¹²⁴

The search for a taxonomic organization of human-made objects was in direct response to critiques of antiquarian methods; more and more, artificial curiosities were

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 27.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 13.

¹²¹ Amiria J.M. Henare, *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange* (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 2005), 64.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Syson, 111.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

seen as the province of those who collected antiquities, who were, according to Pomian, at best dilettantes and at worst, “suspected of using collection as a means as posing as connoisseur foisting himself on artists.”¹²⁵ In the seventeenth-century, philosophers increasingly found antiquarian methods to be inadequate and inaccurate. Those who practiced the collection of coins and medals, for instance, were characterized as individuals mired in the pointless study of minutiae, without the rigor of other disciplinary methodologies.¹²⁶ The exclusive focus on iconography, inscription, and identification led critics like Voltaire to compare numismatics (the study of ancient coins) and currency: “one is shut away and the other freely circulating.”¹²⁷ British antiquaries realized they needed to find a scientific method for the study of antiquities and artifacts, leading to classificatory regimes not unlike those adopted by natural historians.

Yet artificial curiosities presented certain difficulties, prompting collectors to adopt various types of classification. The 1762 guide to Sloane’s collection at Montagu House shows an arrangement by subject. Little is known about the exact layout of the museum, but Syson suggests that objects were classified by “theme and object type rather than chronologically – drinking vessels, for example were displayed together.”¹²⁸ Extending to the objects of ethnography, the guide for Montagu House makes explicit the purpose of such an arrangement in its title, “the progress of Art in the Different Ages of the World, exemplified in a Variety of Utensils each Nation in Each Country has produced.”¹²⁹ In an essay entitled “North American Ethnography in the Collection of Sir Hans Sloane,” J.C.H. King observes that this type of comparative material culture display

¹²⁵ Pomian, 138.

¹²⁶ Syson, 114.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 113.

¹²⁹ Guide to Montagu House in Ibid.

was quite commonplace in eighteenth-century England.¹³⁰ The sheer influx of material from newly explored territories allowed for entire rooms to be devoted to a single type of object. Lever adopted this model in many of his displays – the “Wardrobe Room” featured clothing from nations that were perceived as civilized, the “Antique Room” contained Roman, Anglo-Saxon and Asian Antiquities,¹³¹ and individual cases were often devoted to a single object type – such as guns and horseshoes.¹³² By juxtaposing objects of the same utilitarian type across time and civilizations, the visitor could draw conclusions from their visible differences.

A comparative approach, however, should not be mistaken for rigid taxonomic principles. J.C.H King argues that, in this regard, Sloane’s display was “more similar to the cabinets of the preceding century than to the museums which followed.”¹³³ Although his collection was arranged half a century after Sloane’s, Lever was also noted for a lack of classification by Gilbert White: “Mr. Lever is, I perceive, a very adroit *natural* Naturalist, it is therefore [a] pity he does not allow himself the advantage of books, and call in the assistance of a system.”¹³⁴ As Bredekamp notes, “the *Kunstkammern* seemed to smack of the pre-scientific period and the bizarre, so that despite more recent efforts to restructure the collections, the natural philosophy aspect of their systematic organization was not apparent in the inventories and their underlying philosophies.”¹³⁵

Similarly, the idea of “progress” as it related to material culture did not yet have a stable meaning, and the imposition of chronology, as Foucault observes, would not be

¹³⁰ Jonathan King, “North American Ethnography in the Collection of Sir Hans Sloane,” in Impey and MacGregor (eds.), *The Origins of Museums*, 236.

¹³¹ Haynes, 7.

¹³² Leverian Museum, 2.

¹³³ King “North American,” 236.

¹³⁴ Gilbert in King “New Evidence,” 168.

¹³⁵ Bredekamp, 9.

fully realized until the nineteenth century.¹³⁶ There are earlier examples of chronological arrangement; for instance, Bredekamp notes that Quiccheberg's 1565 publication lists objects starting with antiquity, moving chronologically to present day. In 1775, Immanuel Kant proposed to consider things of nature "as they now are" as opposed to "as they once were"¹³⁷ (presupposing a time-sensitive model), but this revision did not fully manifest itself in the majority of cabinets and museum collections of the late eighteenth-century.¹³⁸ Evolutionary precepts would become part of museum organization in nineteenth-century museums and expositions, as ethnological material displayed as "object lessons" illustrated the progress of civilization teleologically in relation to modern industrialized societies.¹³⁹ Yet to our knowledge, nowhere in Lever's museum was such an explicit chronological narration enacted.

With the lack of a universal theory, the organization of antiquities and material culture in this period carried strains of earlier practices as well as an attempt to integrate artificial curiosities into vast collections of natural history. As I will explore in the following section, Lever's arrangement of material culture mixed typological with geographic and thematic organization. His combined approaches are made evident by Stone's depiction – which shows a combination of war implements hung beside natural

¹³⁶ Foucault, 219: "From the nineteenth century, History was to deploy, in a temporal series the analogies that connect distinct organic structures to one another. This same History will also, progressively, impose its laws on the analysis of production, the analysis of organically structured beings, and, lastly, on the analysis of linguistic groups."

¹³⁷ Bredekamp, 8.

¹³⁸ Bredekamp, 8-9.

¹³⁹ Simon J. Bronner, "Object Lessons: The Work of Ethnological Museums and Collections," *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880-1920*, ed. Simon J. Bronner (NY: W.W. Norton, 1989), 224-225.

history specimens on the one hand, and neatly ordered cases of specimens within individual rooms.¹⁴⁰

V. *The Sandwich Room* and Cook Ethnography

One of these specialized rooms was called *The Sandwich Room*, containing over 1,860 objects, most of which were collected on Captain Cook's voyages.¹⁴¹ Expeditions such as James Cook's brought about the expansion of the field of natural history; specimens from newly explored parts of the world became the basis for the identification of new genera and species.¹⁴² Along with plant and animal species, hundreds of ethnographic objects were collected on the third voyage by officers aboard the ships, primarily William Anderson, David Samwell and Cook himself, who might be considered the first Pacific ethnographers.¹⁴³ But while the ethnographic objects they collected were perhaps easier to obtain, transport and preserve, they were less sought after by collectors than natural specimens, because, as Adrienne Kaeppler notes, "there was no *Systema Naturae* by which to arrange them and no precise terminology with which to discuss them, few took them seriously."¹⁴⁴

Initially, the primary interest in Cook's collections stemmed from the objects' association with the myth surrounding the man. Kaeppler writes: "Because these curiosities were associated with Captain Cook... they seemed to acquire a supernatural

¹⁴⁰ . In purely pragmatic terms, the accommodation of some larger objects in the collection may have also resulted in some of these juxtapositions.

¹⁴¹ Kaeppler, *Artificial* , 12.

¹⁴² Ibid., 1.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 37.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

quality appropriate to the memory of the folk hero he had become.”¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless, in some instances, officers had difficulty selling their artifacts and donated large portions to museum collections such as Lever’s. Lever had the benefit of the donation of Captain Cook’s own collection of natural and artificial curiosities, as specified in a letter from Daines Barrington addressed to Lord Sandwich in 1780.

There is very little evidence, apart from Stone’s drawing of the *Interior*, to suggest precisely how Lever’s ethnographic collection was arranged. The closest accounts are by way of the museum companions published during Parkinson’s ownership of the collection. Parkinson continued to employ Lever’s curator, Thomas Waring, who stayed on until the collection was moved to Albion Place in 1787.¹⁴⁶ Few ethnographic objects were acquired under Parkinson’s tenure,¹⁴⁷ so it is very possible the new proprietor maintained Lever’s original arrangements and groupings.

The first textual description of the ethnographic collection was contained in *A Companion to the Museum...* published in 1790. The multivolume series was never completed, but fortunately the surviving text describes *The Sandwich Room*:

On entering this Apartment, the first thing that meets the eye is the following Inscription: "TO THE IMMORTAL MEMORY OF CAPTAIN COOK." Being the same Inscription that the public have seen at *Leicester-House*. This Room contains ten mahogany Glass-cases, six of which, marked with the numbers, 1,2,3,4,5, and 6, are furnished with miscellaneous articles; in the other four, A,B,C,and D, are arranged the beautiful Feathered Cloaks, and various other products, chiefly of the same singular and elegant materials.*

**It must undoubtedly afford satisfaction to the public, to see several of the identical articles which were once the property of the celebrated Captain*

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 38; also see Gananath Obeyeskere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1992).

¹⁴⁶ King, "New Evidence," 170.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 171.

*Cook...such objects cannot fail to excite a melancholy pleasure, while we reflect on his... unhappy fate.*¹⁴⁸

With this brief introduction, the importance of the collection is already established as one of melancholic association with the late Cook. The “miscellaneous articles” within the first six cases receive less attention than the cases containing the Hawaiian feather cloaks, admired for their “elegant” materials and for their association with Cook’s final days. *The Sandwich Room*’s material culture was of interest mostly by virtue of its former owner, and the publishing of the official narrative brought about a new awareness of Lever’s collection amongst the British museum-going public. Jonathan King observes a similar pattern in the early British Museum:

From the 1750s until 1780 these objects were displayed in a very mixed cabinet style – antiquities and ethnography... muddled and mixed without arrangement. In 1780, after the death of Captain James Cook, a South Seas Room was established to display the collections, Oceanic and American.... This was the first systematic display of ‘artificial curiosities’ in the British Museum.¹⁴⁹

In Lever’s *Sandwich Room*, the “miscellaneous articles” retained somewhat of a “mixed cabinet” style, presented as a miscellany of artifacts with no clear criteria for groupings in each display case. Although it appears haphazard at first, it becomes evident that the Cook material strays from the typological arrangements in the other rooms, and is organized roughly by *geographic region*. A comparative typological display may not have been possible or desirable in *The Sandwich Room*, where we see objects of diverse utility juxtaposed. For instance, *Shelf III* of *Glass Case II* contains dancing rattles, a small whistle, tools “to be used like chissels or planes,” models of birds and a “model of a

¹⁴⁸ Leverian Museum, 6.

¹⁴⁹ J.C.H. King, “Romancing the Americas: public expeditions and private research c. 1778-1827,” in *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth-century*, 234.

small canoe, with two oars.”¹⁵⁰ However, the last lines of the description of the case note that “the whole contents of this Case were brought from *King George’s Sound*” (Nootka Sound).¹⁵¹ The description of cases runs roughly through objects from the North – Kamchatka and Prince William Sound for instance – to farther down the Coast (Nootka Sound), and finally focusing on material culture from Polynesian and Southern Pacific Islands.

Yet there are instances when the cultural/geographic organization is interrupted. On a shelf that appears to house mostly items from Tahiti, Easter Island, and Hawaii, we see the inclusion of a “Cap, formed of the skin of some animal, from which tresses of human hair mixed with twine hang down; it is worn by way of ornament. *Nootka*.”¹⁵² There is no explanation as to why this is included with objects of very different appearance and origin. Perhaps spatial considerations warranted the mixing of cultures. As I have described above, ethnographic objects created what Amiria Henare calls “‘sheer epistemological havoc’ for their classifiers, forcing them continually to reassess and revise their arrangements.”¹⁵³ Needless to say, distinctions between objects of different cultural origins are limited to cursory labels in the *Companion*. An italicized identification of place name accompanies descriptions, but often there is no identification at all. One is left to wonder whether these labels were included in the museum display itself. One educated visitor did not seem to pick up on these distinctions and instead invoked the pagan associations that art historian Frances Connelly discusses in detail. Dr

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 10.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 11.

¹⁵² Ibid., 16.

¹⁵³ Henare, 64.

Sylas Neville described the Cook ethnographic objects as being “a striking picture of the manners and customs of many of the barbarous nations in the Southern Hemisphere.”¹⁵⁴

In her book *The Sleep of Reason*, Frances Connelly asserts that *reason* was conceived as the primary faculty of civilized peoples according to eighteenth-century thought.¹⁵⁵ The material culture of non-European peoples fell into various categories representing pre-civilized states. While these things captivated the European imagination for their craftsmanship, often referred to as works of great “ingenuity,” Europeans in fact knew very little about the cultures from which they derive.¹⁵⁶ This is evident in the restricted nomenclature used to label objects from non-European locales; for instance, “grotesque” was a category that encompassed the “ornamental arabesque” in two-dimensional surface decoration and the “monstrous grotesque” of three-dimensional objects of all varieties and origins.¹⁵⁷

The broad category of “idols” or “fetishes” invoked the most fear in Europeans according to Connelly, with the connotation of the non-Christian graven image.¹⁵⁸ The author of the *Companion* notes a shelf with:

Singular and formidable War Weapons, made use of by the inhabitants of *Nootka*.... This handle resembles the head and face of the human figure, but with a distorted and terrible aspect; and the stone is fixed in the mouth, so as to represent an enormously large tongue”¹⁵⁹

This description is subject to hyperbole, falling into Connelly’s fetish or idol category, and the author is obviously dismayed by the distortion of the human figure that gives it a

¹⁵⁴ Sylas Neville as quoted in Haynes, 7.

¹⁵⁵ Frances Connelly, *The Sleep of Reason: Primitivism in Modern European Art and Aesthetics, 1725-1907* (University Park: Penn State P, 1995), 27.

¹⁵⁶ Connelly, 30.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 79.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 81.

¹⁵⁹ Leverian Museum, 12-13.

“terrible aspect.” The interest in these objects, automatically associated with the rare and the curious, also served as a way to define the limits of European civil society.¹⁶⁰

Museum visitors were also apt to read ethnographic objects through a primitivizing lens.

A description in the *European Magazine* in 1782 claims that the average visitor saw in Lever’s displays “the Indian rejoiced at, and dancing to, the monotonous sound of his tom tom; he sighs to recollect the prevalent power of fear and superstition over the human mind, when he views the rude deformity of an idol carved with a flint, by a hand incapable of imitating the outline of nature, and that works only that it may worship.”¹⁶¹

Although descriptions of the museum often relied on these primitivist tropes, there was simultaneously an increased reliance on voyage narratives as sources of ethnographic data. While Cook’s observations are often erroneous, due to his limited understanding of Nuu-chah-nulth culture, they here supplement a formal description of the object with information about the original owners:

High Truncated Conic Caps, or Hats, worn by the natives of *Nootka*, or *King George’s Sound*; on some of which the process of their whale fishery is wrought. – This, says Capt. *Cook*, though rudely executed, serves to shew, that tho’ there be no appearance of the knowledge of letters amongst them, they have some notion of representing actions in a lasting way.¹⁶²

A mixture of travel narrative, ethnography, and diaristic confession, Cook’s observations about Aboriginal cultures tell as much about the explorer’s assumptions as they do about the subjects/objects of study. But like Sloane’s museum, *The Companion* is an early attempt at incorporating ethnographic data. King observes that “for the first time a

¹⁶⁰ For a more extensive account of primitivism in the eighteenth-century, see: Adam Kuper, *The invention of primitive society : transformations of an illusion* (London: Routledge, 1988); Margaret Hodgen, *Early anthropology in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964); Anthony Pagden, *The fall of natural man : the American Indian and the origins of comparative ethnology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

¹⁶¹ *European Magazine* (1782) as quoted in Haynes, 9.

¹⁶² Leverian Museum, 9.

substantial proportion of pedestrian descriptions are replaced with information copied directly from field informants. This is the significant factor which distinguishes Sloane's ethnography from that of preceding collectors."¹⁶³

Although they may be seen as some of the earliest attempts of ethnographic inquiry, cabinets, as Anthony Shelton reminds us, had commercial and political objectives. These displays of material culture "were later sometimes challenged by particularly pragmatic and politically expedient motivations that led to their public display and the substitution of a mercantile over a metaphysical value... Cabinets expressed a visual image of the inclusiveness of the European view of the world and its facile ability to incorporate and domesticate potentially transgressive worlds and customs."¹⁶⁴ It is now known that Cook's secret instructions were to investigate the potential for new colonial territories. The physical possession of material culture from these regions may have sublimated a much more insidious desire – a symbolic fulfillment of the possession of the land and its people. These implications have been examined by Amiria Henare, who advances a unique argument about the European reception of material culture: "No mere translations, objects made by the hands of these alien peoples carried within them traces of the people themselves... This metaphysical notion, that artefacts could somehow embody or carry within them an authentic trace or residue of the people that made and used them, was in fact a classic tenet of eighteenth-century thought."¹⁶⁵ Locating the philosophical premise of this argument in Locke's *Two treatises of government*, she explains that underlying it was the belief that natural materials were

¹⁶³ King, "North American," 236.

¹⁶⁴ Shelton, 203.

¹⁶⁵ Henare, 40.

“transformed into property through the application of labour.”¹⁶⁶ The objects, according to Henare, were valued for their authentic registry of the hand of an unknown people, and thus ownership and display in many ways signalled future colonization.

VI. Conclusion

In his examination of representations such as Stone’s *Interior*, which pictorializes the Leverian museum’s contents, Pomian argues: “all these types of pictures depict the major categories of beings and objects which together encompass the entire universe: the sacred and the secular, the natural and the artificial, the animate and the inanimate, the far and the near.”¹⁶⁷ With the case of the *Interior*, the representation hints at the varying types of organizing principles within the museum. Haynes makes the convincing argument that the rooms “Within the Curtain” were distinct from the area beside the staircase, allowing the museum to cater to the expectations of different visitors.¹⁶⁸ The more specialized visitor who wished to examine specific classes of objects could look to the neatly organized cases within the rooms, while those who wished to wonder at the spectacle of nature could be satisfied by the diversity of objects in the outer foyer.¹⁶⁹ This combination of display methods is indicative of the overall diversity of approaches within the museum – from its invocations of the *theatrum mundi*, to the parlaying of curiosity collections into pseudo-taxonomic structures. Thus, there is no necessary contradiction in viewing Lever as both serious collector and entertainer/dandy, as both roles occupied important positions in the eighteenth-century. Adding another layer to the discussion of

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 41.

¹⁶⁷ Pomian, 49.

¹⁶⁸ Haynes, 6.

¹⁶⁹ Haynes, 6.

arrangement and representation, I will now turn to how Sarah Stone translated Nuuchahnulth objects in Lever's collection into two-dimensional watercolour drawings.

CHAPTER 2: The Ethnographic Albums of Sarah Stone

Although it is estimated that Stone produced over one thousand watercolours in total, not much is known about the artist's life and conditions of production. No diary or personal correspondence are known. What we do know of her life is cobbled together from newspaper advertisements, contemporaneous reports, exhibition records, and a wealth of artistic production. And while signed or dated paintings are in the minority, we know that much of her artistic activity dates to a concentrated period in which she painted objects in the vast collection of Lever's museum. Given the dearth of information about the artist's life and conditions of production, many questions will go unanswered in this thesis, such as: under what conditions was she commissioned to draw objects in Lever's collection? For what purpose were these drawings intended? What criteria did she use to select objects for representation? Why did the ethnographic drawings go unpublished or unexhibited? While these questions cannot be directly addressed, I will discuss Stone's work within the context of watercolour drawing during this period, giving particular attention to issues surrounding women's education and the complex relationship between drawing and naturalism. Moreover, I will explore how eighteenth-century British audiences may have interpreted her works by examining other examples of watercolour and print representations of ethnographic objects and asking how this type of visual culture operated within the contemporaneous discourse.

I. Sarah Stone's Corpus

Stone was not the only artist to draw objects in Lever's museum, but she was certainly the most prolific. From about 1777-1802, Stone depicted a variety of Lever's

“curiosities,”¹ including natural and ethnographic items such as birds, minerals, mammals, instruments, implements and weapons. At seventeen, she produced her earliest known drawing in Ashton Lever’s museum – a depiction of an Angola Vulture. It is one of her few dated pieces, executed on the 27th of February 1777, two years after the museum’s opening. Stone is best known for her depictions of bird species, many of which were brought to England as a result of exploratory voyages in the New World. According to Christine E. Jackson’s comprehensive account of Stone’s life and natural history drawings, the young artist may have begun drawing in the museum independently, where she would have caught the attention of her future patron, Lever.² Many of her drawings may have been intended for a publication that was never realized, as Clare Haynes has suggested.³

In 1784, Lever took out several advertisements in *The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* alerting the public to an additional room to be added to the museum:

Sir Ashton Lever, Holophusicon Is open every Day (Sundays excepted) from ELEVEN till FOUR To which is now added, a large Room of Transparent Drawings in Water Colours, from the most curious specimens in the Collection, consisting of above one thousand different articles, executed by Miss Stone, a young lady, who is allowed by all Artists to have succeeded in the effort beyond all imagination. These will continue to be open for the inspection of the public until they are removed into the country.⁴

Perhaps in anticipation of the museum’s dissolution under his directorship, Lever brought these works to his estate at Alkrington. He was permitted to retain ownership of the

¹ Jackson, 128.

² Ibid.

³ Haynes, 12. (See Footnote 3 of Introduction).

⁴ Aston Lever, *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, March 25, 1784. Quoted in Jackson 22

drawings, despite the collection's sale by lottery.⁵ Stone worked throughout the 1780s, continuing to draw specimens even after the museum's ownership changed hands.

In addition to Lever's patronage, a number of individuals sought out Stone's work during the peak years of her career. Her watercolours were exhibited at both the Royal Society of Artists and the Royal Academy. Several of her drawings were engraved for John White's *Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales*, an account written by the chief surgeon aboard the First Fleet of convict ships to the new Australian colony. This publication contains some of the first depictions of Australian flora and fauna. Of the sixty-four plates in the book, Stone signed thirty-six and an additional ten have been attributed to her.⁶ The naturalist Thomas Pennant commissioned Stone to make drawings of "the most curious subjects in [the] cabinet" of Sir Elijah Impey and his lady, which appeared in the publication, *A View of Hindoostan*.⁷ Other publications that include her work are *A General Synopsis of Birds* by John Latham and two official publications of the Leverian Museum (under Parkinson), *Museum Leverianum* and *A Companion to Late Sir Ashton Lever's Museum*.

While Stone's naturalist drawings were sought after by book publishers, her representations of ethnographic objects appear to have received little attention at the time of their completion.⁸ There are only three known sketchbooks/albums of these works, two at the Bishop Museum and a third at the British Museum.⁹ The majority of representations of Nuu-chah-nulth material culture are found in the two albums at the Bishop Museum, however they are not grouped together, but interspersed amongst the

⁵ Jackson, 22.

⁶ Jackson, 140.

⁷ Jackson, 145.

⁸ No record of their exhibition or publication in the eighteenth-century can be located.

artist's drawings of material culture from various locations around the globe.¹⁰ On the inside cover page of the second volume of albums, the prominent collector of Pacific material culture, Captain A.W. Fuller handwrote the following observations in pencil:

This work is of the greatest importance, as it is, as far as I know, the only collection of Ethnological specimens which are of undoubted "Cook" collecting. These drawings are executed before or shortly after, 25 March 1783, and therefore, must show "Cook" specimens. See the sheet of old newspaper with a notice of the "London Gazette" for Tuesday 25 March 1783 and with M.S names written by the artist.¹¹

Fuller was the first to recognize the significance of Stone's ethnographic drawings. By approximating the date of the albums from two newspaper clippings found inside, he could identify the objects depicted as Cook specimens because no other voyages to date had collected such material. A recurring watermark on several of the pages, comprised of laid foolscap paper, roughly corresponds to this date.¹² The vellum-bound albums once contained eighty-five plates each, however that number has been significantly reduced by missing pages (ten in the third volume alone).

II. *The Accomplished Woman at Work: Stone's Training and Women's Education*

While it is likely she operated in a professional capacity, Sarah Stone should be situated in a discussion of the amateur arts of the eighteenth-century. The definition of

⁹ See King, "Woodlands Art," for a description of the British Museum's album.

¹⁰ As mentioned previously, there is one known drawing of a Nuu-chah-nulth mask in the British Museum album.

¹¹ Fuller's notation in Stone, Sarah. *Objects in the Leverian Museum as depicted by Sarah Stone. (Volume the Second)*. c.1783. Fuller collection, Bishop Museum Library.

¹² Volume 2 contains the Britannia watermark. Britannia holds a shield, a spear and an olive branch. A crown is on top of the oval band. The countermark is a crown over the letters GR, which is a mark for foolscap paper manufactured in France or Holland for the English market, prevalent after the mid eighteenth-century. "One of the marks used to distinguish English foolscap size of paper is the Britannia watermark. It seems incredible that we had to go to Holland for our Britannia, but it seems that this was the case." W.A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in the XVII and XVIII Centuries*, (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger and Co., 1935), 43-4. Illustrations of the watermark may be found in the above.

“amateur” derives from the original latin *amare*, “to love,” thus, amateurs were originally considered lovers of the arts.¹³ By the late eighteenth-century, the term had come to label those operating in a non-professional capacity, and along with the domestic arts was arguably tinged with gendered associations. A letter by the artist Lewis Allen describes an encounter with “Mrs. Smith” (Stone’s married name) in 1823:

I was vastly flattered to receive the approbation of Mrs. Captain Smith, who is herself a fine painter. You remember she was the celebrated Miss Stone, who was painted by Shelley, and who herself when a young lady, made a large number of water colour paintings of some of the curious birds in Sir Ashton Lever’s Museum in Leicester Square... Judging by her portrait and herself (although now no longer young), she had all the best parts of beauty, a fine countenance, a good figure, and a pleasing address.¹⁴

Although she is well advanced in years, Stone is here described as a “fine painter.” Yet these descriptions are limited to examples of her famed paintings of Lever’s collection, quickly followed by a judgment of her appearance. The manner by which her abilities are conflated with her image appears to suggest that, at least in the public eye, Stone oscillated between the role of professional and “accomplished woman.”

In the late eighteenth-century, the skill of drawing was one of several “elegant accomplishments” that a young lady such as Sarah Stone might possess.¹⁵ During this period, the growing influence of the middle classes resulted in an increased regulation and commodification of women’s domestic spaces, goods, activities and, as scholar Ann Bermingham argues, identities. In her essay, “Elegant females and gentlemen

¹³ Kim Sloan, *A Noble Art: Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters c. 1600-1800*, (London: The British Museum, 2000), 7.

¹⁴ *The Universal Review*, Volume 6, (London: S. Sonnenschein & Co., 1890), 583-584. Shelley’s portrait depicts the artist in the midst of drawing her favourite subject matter, a tropical bird.

¹⁵ See Ann Bermingham, “Elegant females and gentlemen connoisseurs: The commerce in culture and self-image in eighteenth-century England,” in *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text*, eds. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London: Routledge, 1995), 489.

connoisseurs,” Bermingham identifies accomplishments as a means of inviting the male gaze, thus placing the woman on view within the marriage market under a seemingly less forthright guise:

An important role of accomplishments was to mitigate this brazen solicitation and vulgar gazing, and in doing so to mask women’s commodity status. Accomplishments provided an occasion for women to display themselves while denying that this was in fact what was happening. Men, in turn, could look while seeming to listen, or size up a woman while appearing to be judging a drawing.¹⁶

The purchase of drawing skills could be attained through instruction or by way of the various drawing manuals published specifically for “young ladies.”¹⁷ Bermingham argues that these skills were not considered creative (with the role of the *artist* reserved for males), but were intended for the young lady “to bring to perfection the artistry of others rather than to initiate new artistic forms, and in so doing to bring herself to the point of aesthetic completion.”¹⁸ Furthermore, competing masculine and feminine attributes produced ambiguities between the sexes and necessitated a clear demarcation of women’s subjectivities in relation to men’s.¹⁹ The woman’s status as “accomplished” was developed as a secure position from which the male artist was not threatened.

Women’s education in the late eighteenth-century was inextricably tied to economic considerations. According to P.J. Miller, “the most important reason for the popularity of schools was the opportunity they offered for social advancement through

¹⁶ Ibid., 491.

¹⁷ For a review of eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century manuals designed for the instruction of women in drawing, flower painting and botany, see Bermingham, “Articles of Fancy,” *Learning to Draw: studies in the cultural history of a polite and useful art* (New Haven: the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2000), 202-224.

¹⁸ Bermingham, “Elegant females,” 494.

¹⁹ In the eighteenth-century, the “cult of sensibility” was promoted amongst both women and men. See G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago P, 1996).

marriage.”²⁰ Bermingham similarly explains that a woman’s performance of skills ceased after marriage, as “male possession negates creative accomplishment.”²¹ This is perhaps why Stone’s fame continues to be primarily associated with her maiden name. The employment of this name allowed her creativity to be legitimated, thus forging an identification that would always be situated within the past and pre-dating marital obligation.

Yet Stone’s case suggests that women artists did not always fit neatly into the category of accomplished woman. As her example attests, it was possible for women to become professional artists in the eighteenth-century, despite the many barriers they faced. Stone continued to produce drawings well after her marriage in 1789, suggesting that her husband, John Langdale Smith, was supportive of her artistic endeavours.²² Smith also exhibited paintings, as evidenced by an entry in the Royal Academy Exhibitors catalogue. In 1791, Stone exhibited two pictures of birds at the Society of Artists, *The Yellowheaded Parrot from the Brazils* and *The Mandarin Drake*.²³ The records also indicate that she had exhibited four watercolours of birds and shells at the Royal Academy in 1781.²⁴ While two of the founding members of the Royal Academy were women (Angelica Kauffman and her lesser-known colleague, Mary Moser), female artists faced numerous levels of discrimination from the art establishment. As the often reproduced painting *The Royal Academy of Arts* by Johann Zoffany attests, the public

²⁰ P.J. Miller, “Women’s Education, ‘Self-Improvement’ and Social Mobility – A Late Eighteenth Century Debate,” *British Journal of Educational Studies* 20, no. 3 (Oct 1972): 306.

²¹ Bermingham, “Elegant,” 495.

²² Jackson advances this argument on page 28.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: a complete dictionary of contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904*, (Wakefield: S.R. Publishers, 1970), 275.

presence of female painters was contentious and well-monitored.²⁵ In Zoffany's painting, Kauffman and Moser are not depicted among their male contemporaries, but referenced through their portraits seen on the right interior wall.²⁶

Although Stone's gender may have limited her access to more rigorous and prestigious training circles, her entry into a professional career was in all likelihood facilitated by her father's occupation as a fan painter. As was remarked in 1890, her paintings "show a considerable amount of technical skill; but this is not surprising as the artist's father was a fan painter, somewhat in the style of Antoine Watteau."²⁷ The high demand for decorated fans in eighteenth-century England had its roots in continental Europe; fans were fashionable in Rome from the 1660s onward, and shortly thereafter Paris fan-makers organized as a regulated professional body due to high levels of production.²⁸ The London-based "Worshipful Company of Fan Makers" incorporated by Royal Charter of Queen Anne in 1709, was an organization to which Stone's father no doubt belonged.²⁹ Christine Jackson concludes that Stone derived much of her training from her father and his associates, as her materials and mediums were also commonly found in fan-painting practice.³⁰ For instance, the application of fine brushstrokes of

²⁵ Watercolours were quickly gaining in popularity in the late eighteenth-century, and amateur watercolour artists of both genders were admitted into the Royal Academy as 'honorary' exhibitors. Despite the fact that "writers on amateur practice consistently stressed that it was and should remain a private activity, particularly for women," there were a large number of amateur exhibitors in the early years. Greg Smith, *The Emergence of the Professional Watercolorist: Contentions and alliances in the artistic domain, 1760-1824*, (Burlington: Ashgate, 2002), 98.

²⁶ It has been well documented that artists such as Angelica Kauffman were barred from life drawing classes, which resulted in her work being criticized for its unrealistic portrayal of the human body. For an account of the issues surrounding women's artistic training see Griselda Pollock and Rozika Parker, "God's Little Artist," *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 87.

²⁷ *Universal Review*, 583-584.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 22.

³⁰ Only some of Stone's subject-matter overlapped with that of a fan painter. Late eighteenth-century fans featured biblical scenes, classical mythology, rococo pastoral scenes, chinoiserie, and scenes from the *commedia dell'arte*. Souvenir fans were also popular, as those that commemorated special events. Similar

colour can be seen in works such as the *Golden pheasant* (1788), in which Sarah Stone's attention to detail results in a subtle articulation of plumage and carefully-applied accents of colour in the pheasant's breast and tailfeathers.

While her direct training likely derived from her immediate environment, Stone's interest in naturalist subject-matter was informed by eighteenth-century attitudes towards female education. As women's intellectual character was judged "intuitionist," their art education in this period stressed the value of copying objects in the natural world.³¹ Unitarian minister Thomas Broadhurst expressed this point of view, claiming that women learn "from the valuable maxims of reflection and wisdom," instead of direct experience.³² The emphasis on rote learning extended to the instruction of female amateur artists. Flower painting has been commonly associated with feminine creativity, and feminist art historians have pointed to this tradition as an avenue for women to produce art that remained legitimately within the prescribed boundaries.³³ In *Strategies For Showing: Women, Possession, and Representation in English Visual Culture*, Marcia Pointon examines the career artist and founding member of the Royal Academy, Mary Moser. Moser and her lesser-known contemporary Mary Grace primarily painted flowers and still lifes.

Flowers were amongst a broader range of subjects acceptable for study by young women. Linnean taxonomy had been made accessible to the public by the late eighteenth-century through such publications as *Curtis's Botanical Magazine*, and it was perceived

iconography is sometimes depicted on ceramics and other decorative features of the artifacts in Stone's albums. Birds and scenes associated with travel and/or antiquity also appear on fans. Valerie Steele, *The Fan: Fashion and Femininity Unfolded* (New York: Rizzoli, 2002), 17.

³¹ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, 191.

³² Broadhurst, as quoted in Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, 191.

as easy to learn because of its systematic organization.³⁴ Many women were encouraged to pursue studies of the natural world and its intrinsic order through educational volumes such as *The young lady's introduction [sic] to natural history; containing an account of the atmosphere, light and gravity, of the terraqueous globe* (1766), which “precipitated a wave of popular botany” according to Pointon.³⁵ This instructional text covers such topics as “the origin of springs and fountains; of vegetables, animals, birds, fishes, insects, etc.”³⁶ Its purpose was not purely scientific, as its Preface also claims that the study of nature “cannot fail to lift up the heart with gratitude to the Wise Author of all things.”³⁷ The study of nature unveiled the spiritual design behind the things of God’s creation.³⁸

Along with the amateur naturalist, the amateur artist of eighteenth-century England was also supplied with numerous instructional manuals. Despite the fact that the art was practiced by both genders, women in particular were encouraged to pursue the representation of nature in part because of the reductive associations of the feminine with the natural world. They were targeted by such manuals as *A New Treatise on Flower Painting, or Every Lady Her Own Drawing Master* of 1797 and *The Accomplish’d Housewife; or, the Gentlwoman’s Companion* of 1745, which gave directions for

³³ See Rozika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (London: Routledge, 1989); and Pollock and Parker, *Old Mistresses*.

³⁴ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, 204.

³⁵ Pointon, 147.

³⁶ *The young lady's introduction [sic] to natural history; containing an account of the atmosphere, light and gravity, of the terraqueous globe* (1766): A3, Eighteenth-century Collections Online.

<http://galenet.galegroup.com.proxy.library.carleton.ca/servlet/ECCO> (accessed October 7, 2007).

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Other women were active participants in the study of natural history, such as Maria Sibylla Merian (1647-1717), who was not only famed for her multi-volumed publications but was also a collector of specimens, shells, corals, insects and drawings. Julia Lindkvist, “Women Illustrators of Natural History in the Enlightenment,” *Science and the Visual Image in the Enlightenment*, ed. W. R. Shea, (Canton, Watson Publishing, 2000), 186-189.

“copying Prints or Drawings, and Painting either in Oil or Water Colours.”³⁹ These guides urged their pupils to copy directly from nature, yet only after successfully drawing from the illustrations provided.⁴⁰ I will now turn to a more general discussion of watercolour as a medium and how Stone’s training conforms with the criteria of scientific and natural history illustration.

III. Illustrating Ethnography: Watercolour Drawing and Natural History

There are a number of reasons why watercolour was a favoured medium in the latter decades of the eighteenth-century. As I have discussed, although the medium was increasingly fashionable amongst women, the availability of new materials and manuals published exclusively for the instruction of drawing in watercolour encouraged an outburst of activity from all classes of individuals.⁴¹ By the mid-eighteenth-century, the appearance of the “watercolour man” as supplier of pre-prepared materials further added to the medium’s ease of use.⁴² Watercolours were light and compact compared to oil paints, and artists required less time to complete a composition.⁴³ While the majority of histories dealing with British watercolours focus on the landscape tradition, scholars such as Greg Smith and Ann Bermingham have highlighted a variety of practices coexistent with the landscape genre in the eighteenth-century. In *The Business of Watercolour*, Smith notes that watercolour was used for the colouring of maps, miniature portraits, and

³⁹ *The accomplish’d housewife; or, the gentlewoman’s companion : containing I. Reflections on the education of the fair sex*; (London, 1745): 2, Eighteenth Century Collections Online. <http://galenet.galegroup.com.proxy.library.carleton.ca/servlet/ECCO> (accessed October 2, 2007).

⁴⁰ In reference to Brookshaw’s *A New Treatise*, in Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, 157.

⁴¹ Marjorie Cohn, *Wash and Gouache: A Study of the Development of the Materials of Watercolor* (Cambridge: Fogg Art Museum, 1977), 12.

⁴² Michael Clarke, *The Tempting Prospect: A Social History of English Watercolours* (London: British Museum Publications, 1981), 14.

⁴³ Clarke, 103.

the art of extra-illustration,⁴⁴ “all characterised by their small scale and suitability for private study.”⁴⁵

While we are uncertain of the exact purpose Stone’s ethnographic albums served, their format seems to suggest that the albums were to function as a portfolio that had closer associations with the library than the exhibition room. To compartmentalize Stone’s work, however, is perhaps too reductive an exercise, for as Greg Smith reminds us, this “masks the fact that watercolour, unlike oil, does not in itself signify the ‘artistic’, and that the demarcation between artist and artisan has always been a fluid one.”⁴⁶ And as Svetlana Alpers suggests, watercolour “is a medium that effaces the distinction between drawing and painting, and it was primarily employed in the interest of immediacy of rendering. One might say, conversely, that it is a medium that allows drawings to display at once two normally contradictory aspects: drawing as *inscription* (the recording on a surface) and drawing as *picture* (the evocation of something seen).”⁴⁷ That watercolour was a medium of choice for the representation of New World artifacts had as much to do with its utilitarian features as with its ability to evoke an aesthetic response.

Lever was not the only individual to seek watercolour artists for documentary purposes. Before the advent of photography, drawing was an important tool for recording material phenomena. In a period increasingly reliant on empirical evidence, visual representation was seen as not only a form of communication, but often as a supplement to written information. In at least one instance, Banks lamented his inability to describe

⁴⁴ Extra-illustration was the incorporation of prints or drawings into pre-existing printed texts, an activity popular around the turn of the 19th century. Greg Smith, *The Business of Watercolour*, 5.

⁴⁵ Greg Smith, 3.

⁴⁶ Greg Smith, 7.

⁴⁷ Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: U Chicago P, 1983). 158-159.

artifacts accurately in words: "I may truly say [it] was like nothing but itself,"⁴⁸ he noted in response to a Maori object. John Locke similarly exalted the descriptive qualities of drawing in *Thoughts concerning Education*, observing that certain ideas "would be easily retained and communicated, by a little Skill in 'Drawing'; which being committed to Words are in danger to be lost, or at best but ill retained in the most exact Descriptions."⁴⁹ In the eighteenth-century, many antiquarians hired watercolourists to sketch or record ruins or Gothic churches, further blurring the distinctions between artist and artisan.⁵⁰ Rosemary Sweet notes in her article on the antiquarian interest in engravings and visual records that "Gentlemen were willing to pay up to several guineas for a work whose text they would never read, if it was well illustrated with engravings." Antiquaries in the late eighteenth-century increasingly saw drawings and engravings as primary evidence instead of merely illustrative of textual content.⁵¹ And yet this did not compromise the visual attractiveness of the medium. As Greg Smith argues, the widespread appeal of watercolour drawings demonstrates that "the recording of information, expressed through a set of unambiguous conventions, [could] be made more attractive without compromising the primary function."⁵²

Individual authorities such as Joseph Banks valued visual representations as an important component of his larger project. The popularity of voyage publications and travel narratives amongst both educated and lay populations in the late eighteenth-century

⁴⁸ Henare, 40.

⁴⁹ Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages* (New Haven: Yale U P, 1992), 2.

⁵⁰ Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific*, 2.

⁵¹ Rosemary Sweet, "Antiquaries and Antiquities in Eighteenth-Century England," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34, no. 2 (2001): 181-206. http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/eighteenth-century_studies/v034/34.2sweet.html (accessed June 3, 2008).

⁵² Greg Smith, 9.

meant there was a steady demand for engravings and illustrations.⁵³ Henare notes that Banks commissioned several illustrations depicting objects he had amassed in the field. These were represented in arrangements according to geographic and utilitarian types in an attempt to fit material culture into an organizational system.⁵⁴ The example Henare cites, an engraving of “Various kinds of Instruments, Utensils, &c., of the Inhabitants of New Zealand, with some Instruments &c., of the People of Terra del Fuego and New Holland” (after a drawing by Sydney Parkinson) shows a kind of mixture not unlike those presented in Stone’s albums [Figure 2.1]. While objects of similar utility like fishhooks are grouped together, the utilitarian functions of the tools, weapons and ornament are diverse. The overall presentation is one of symmetrical harmony and aesthetic balance – the spacing between objects is roughly equal and objects of similar length and shape complement each other on areas of the page. The same could be said for an engraving after Peter Mazell of artifacts collected on Cook’s Voyage published in Thomas Pennant’s *Arctic Zoology* (1784), which features a symmetrical arrangement of a Nuuchah-nulth club flanked by two western Eskimo walrus ivory bow drills⁵⁵ [Figure 2.2]. The arrangements of objects would become increasingly elaborate into the nineteenth-century, as demonstrated by the engraving of “Weapons from the Pacific” after Skelton, published in Meyrick (1830) [Figure 2.3].⁵⁶ This is an example of a “trophy” arrangement, with antecedents in the classical displays of captured loot, demonstrating

⁵³ Nicholas Thomas, “Licensed Curiosity: Cook’s Pacific Voyages,” in *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, (London: Reaktion Books, 1994), 118.

⁵⁴ Henare, 71.

⁵⁵ see J.C.H. King, *Artificial Curiosities from the Northwest Coast of America* (London: British Museum Publications, 1981), Plate 6.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Plate 5.

that artifacts were incorporated into elaborate displays composed by their collectors or the artists who imagined them as part of a larger aesthetic and ideological program.

Despite these compositional devices, the above examples make evident the eighteenth-century representation of artifacts as part of the larger discourse of scientific illustration. As I have established in the previous chapter, “artificial curiosities” fell into the established province of natural history in the absence of a systematized vocabulary and discipline of study specific to what we now call ethnographic objects or material culture. Despite separations of “artificial” and “natural,” the pictorial conventions of artifact illustration closely followed those of natural science. As documentation of empirical evidence, scientific drawings relied on the close study of nature by way of direct observation. In contrast, for example, medieval bestiaries and emblem books did not often require the artist to study the specimen directly but relied on the conventional iconography.⁵⁷ Yet within these earlier traditions, some illustrations, such as those made for a revised edition of *The Art of Falconry* (1194-1250) seem to indicate that species were drawn directly from life.⁵⁸ In the fourteenth century, this realism was taken up more thoroughly by artists of the Italian Lombard school, who drew detailed studies of animal species in preparation for finished works.⁵⁹ The development of increasingly naturalistic animal and botanical studies throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries corresponds to the “new vision” of the Renaissance and the introduction of perspective.⁶⁰ At the end of the sixteenth century, the author of *Tractate Containing the Artes of curious Paintinge* (1598) declared that “painting is an arte; because it imitateth naturall thinges most

⁵⁷ Victoria Dickenson, *Drawn from Life: Science and Art in the Portrayal of the New World*, (Toronto: U of T Press, 1998), 46.

⁵⁸ Bernard Smith, 4.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 6

precisely, and is the *Counterfeiter* and (as it were) the very *Ape of Nature*.”⁶¹ No longer iconographic types, representations of living things were not only completed as accurately as possible, but became substitutes for the specimen itself. Naturalists in the sixteenth century came to depend on watercolour drawings of specimens that could be circulated in the absence of well-preserved collections.⁶² Original drawings continued to have great importance into the eighteenth-century, especially given the weight placed on vision in Linnaean taxonomy.⁶³ Foucault highlights this aspect of the classical episteme in *The Order of Things*, noting that under the taxonomic principles of the eighteenth-century, sight imposed order over an otherwise motley assortment of things by communicating an assigned name and image.⁶⁴

As such, eighteenth-century scientific illustrators increasingly isolated their subjects for close inspection by the viewer/reader. A project which was in some respects analogous to Stone’s, John and Andrew van Rymsdyck’s *Museum Britannicum* (1778) sought to translate the vast collection of Hans Sloane [see Figure 2.4] into a digest depicting “a Variety of Picturesque, Curious, and Scarce Objects” and claimed to render them “instructive, entertaining and useful.”⁶⁵ Yet, like Stone’s albums, the “paper exhibition” of thirty plates deviated from the system of arrangement in the British Museum, and also departed from the collection’s past organizations.⁶⁶ While it was closely associated with the museum, Stafford argues that the Rymsdyck’s book of nature

⁶⁰ Dickenson, 47.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 53.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁶⁴ Foucault, 129-131.

⁶⁵ John and Andrew van Rymsdyck, *Museum Britannicum*, London, 1778. Eighteenth-century Collections Online. <http://galenet.galegroup.com.proxy.library.carleton.ca/servlet/ECCO> (accessed June 15, 2008), iii.

⁶⁶ Stafford, *Artful Science*, 267.

“literally became a reproducible digest containing abstracted works of art.”⁶⁷ With their singling out and magnification of objects against a white ground, the representations reformulate the collection’s syntax:

They brought specimens ‘so near the Eye’ that, rather than merely representing ‘the Effect of Nature,’ its particulars were seized in microscopic detail.... No longer ‘talking’ amongst themselves and with their audience, such illustrations already signified and were meant to be ‘read’ by silent viewers. Cameolike, isolated images stood in naked relief against a blank page. Disproportionately magnified and hyperreal, the Rymsdycks’ copies of figured stones and unusual items appeared simultaneously common and special, individual and universal.⁶⁸

Unlike Stone’s work, the Rymsdycks’ predominantly featured the more rare and sensational objects of the British Museum such as “Brick from the Tower of Babel,” but remained faithful to an unwavering commitment to “true imitation.”⁶⁹ The publication declared the artist “an enemy to Nature-Menders, Mannerists, &c.”⁷⁰ while at the same time revealing a fetishistic interest in the bizarre and unusual. Regardless of any appeals to faithful reproduction, the distinctive qualities of both *Museum Britannicum* and Stone’s album display a synthesis of mimetic detail and artistic license.

IV. The Albums of Ethnographic Drawings

This new emphasis on the importance of visual evidence required a precision of reproductive techniques. But how well do Stone’s drawings reproduce the original? While we have already established that there is no such thing as an *essential copy*,⁷¹ the benefits of comparison help us determine the relative accuracy of Stone’s representations.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 267.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 271

⁶⁹ John and Andrew van Rymsdyck, as quoted in Thomas “Licensed,” 133

⁷⁰ van Rymsdyck, iv.

⁷¹ Norman Bryson, *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze*, 3.

In a drawing of a club [Figure 2.5], the original extant at the University of Cambridge Museum [Figure 2.6], one may observe the careful rendering of the club's features, the sea otter teeth inlay and the protruding stone point. The most apparent discrepancies appear in the differing angles of the handle to the point, and in the white lines in the club's finial, perhaps dentalia inlay now missing due to natural disintegration, as pointed out by the contemporary Nuu-chah-nulth creator, K̓i-ḱe-in.⁷² Overall, Stone's drawing does not overtly distort the appearance of the club.

Through her detailed studies, Stone performs a type of selective observation – a singling out of objects from Lever's shelves, directing them towards the scrutinizing eye. They are not framed through the use of ink ruled lines as with some of her bird drawings, which became works prized as individual pieces. Instead, these albums may be considered more informal studies of the objects, their surfaces, and the potential juxtapositions with other objects in the collection.

In her ethnographic albums, Stone often adeptly handles her chosen medium. She achieves the basic form of the object through underdrawing in graphite, and the appearance of three-dimensionality through gradations of various washes. Generally, lighter washes indicate space closer to the eye, while more opaque pigments and, possibly, the use of gouache indicate depth and shading. Highlights are achieved with negative space (the absence of colour on the paper's surface). Occasionally, she creates details through the use of either fine brushstrokes of darker colour, or pen and ink (when straight lines are necessary). Many of the pages show traces of erased/removed sketches,

⁷² K̓i-ḱe-in, interview by author, January 6, 3008, Port Alberni, B.C.

revealing attempts at re-sizing and experimentations with compositional placement of each object in relation to the others on the same page.

Stone largely conforms to a typological arrangement, choosing to group objects of similar function within a single drawing. Fish hooks, combs, bowls, masks, bracelets: these are all grouped together according to utility and perhaps aesthetic congruency (grouping objects that have complimentary shapes, sizes, colour, etc). On one page in the second volume [Fig. 2.7], for example, objects that could only be categorized under the primitivist notion of “idols” are represented, demonstrating by their diverse origins that cultural classification was perhaps a secondary consideration to European primitivist tropes.⁷³ Like Lever’s museum, however, Stone’s drawings rarely conform to a strict pattern. Two of the pages show a war club pictured with a bowl. Another page mixes a dagger with a shell necklace. These mixtures may be a direct reflection of the museum’s arrangement. For instance, the *Companion* describes a shelf that features “Heads of Harpoons... and Singular Fish-hooks” as well as “Combs of different patterns,”⁷⁴ which could account for the combination of the leister (a fishing instrument) and comb in Figure 2.8. Another shelf is described as containing “Bowls, all formed out of solid wood,” and war weapons, where the “handle resembles the head and face of the human figure, but with a distorted and terrible aspect.”⁷⁵ Stone similarly pairs a war club with a wooden bowl on two separate occasions [Figure 2.11]. However, it is impossible to know whether the bowls described in the companion are the same ones depicted on the page.

On page 25 of Volume II, Stone depicts two Northwest Coast artifacts: a club resembling a hand holding a ball, and below it a double-headed bird rattle [Figure 2.9]. A

⁷³ see Connelly.

⁷⁴ Leverian Museum, 17.

light source appears to be illuminating the three-dimensional objects from the left side, which is characteristic of the majority of the drawings in the two albums at the Bishop Museum. The graphite lines demarcating outline and shadow are faintly visible beneath the coloured washes. Depth is further emphasized in areas by a grey wash that overlaps with the brown to suggest carved wood. An area of the ball underneath the gripped hand is completely devoid of paint, creating a highlight that denotes the roundness of the end of the club. On the bird rattle, faint markings on the tail indicate lines created possibly by paint or incised carving. Upon closer examination, one may see that Stone has redrawn the rattle from a completely different angle. The first angle, evidenced by an erased outline, positions the viewer as if looking down at the rattle. The second (and finished) attempt shows the rattle at what Stone perhaps conceived as a more advantageous angle – allowing us to observe the seams and ties that hold it together, and the angle from which the tail wings project. This is not an example of her most detailed studies, however. A drawing of an adze, a woodworking tool with a handle in the shape of a bird's head, reveals the precision with which she chose to render some objects [Figure 2.10]. The colouring of the adze, and the detailed markings in paint or charcoal, clearly give indication of the material – bone – and the craftsmanship necessary to carve the original object. The original exists in a collection in Exeter [Figure 2.11], and a comparison of the drawing with the original shows how faithfully Stone observed the actual piece. Her handling of the medium was more than competent, and in some cases exceptional.

In spite of the relative accuracy with which she reproduces the Nuu-chah-nulth artifacts, Stone's drawings remove much of the information which would enable the eye

⁷⁵ Ibid., 13.

to place the artifact in a naturalistically-rendered space. In other words, the artifacts cannot be located in any definable orientation, such as hanging on a wall or resting on a table. With the exception of pages with one object represented, the artist aligns the objects on many perspectival schemes, giving the sense that the eye is positioned from several different vantage points at once. For instance, returning to the club and bowl representations, we see how the club could only exist as an entity hovering overtop the bowls if the objects indeed occupy the same space [Fig. 2.12]. In this view, the objects are lifted from any contextual framework, floating in a non-spatial reality yet oddly referencing reality with their evocations of three-dimensional modeling. This stark attempt at neutrality appears heightened when the drawings of artifacts are juxtaposed with her drawings of bird species, shown perched on branches (possibly due to museological conventions for taxidermied specimens), or with indications of ground and a natural habitat, as in her depiction of a flamingo frightened by a snake [Fig. 2.13]. I will return to these aspects of her drawings, which were not unusual, but, rather, approaches she shared with contemporary artists who addressed the same or similar subject-matter.

V. John Webber and Thomas Davies: Representations of Nuu-chah-nulth Objects

The qualities of Stone's work are further revealed through a comparison with the work of John Webber and Thomas Davies, two eighteenth-century artists who also created representations of Nuu-chah-nulth material culture collected on Cook's third voyage. I ask how each artist's rendition of Nuu-chah-nulth material culture differs and what these differences tell us about the artists' circumstances of production. In addressing

these questions, I return to issues of representation and gender as they relate to Stone's work.

John Webber was the official draughtsman aboard Cook's Third Voyage. The Swiss artist was born on October 6, 1751. He trained in Paris for five years and moved to London, where he was encouraged to submit paintings to the Royal Academy's annual exhibition.⁷⁶ These caught the attention of Daniel Carl Solander, a Swedish botanist who had accompanied Cook on his first two voyages.⁷⁷ Solander's influence led to Webber's appointment as voyage draughtsman, and the Admiralty reported to Cook in June of 1776 that Webber was to "make Drawings and Paintings of such places in the Countries you may touch at the course of the said voyage as may be proper to give a more perfect idea thereof than can be formed by written descriptions only."⁷⁸ At every landing, Webber was charged with the task of recording as many aspects of the new surroundings as possible. This typically consisted of drawings of geological features of harbours and landscapes, contact with the Indigenous inhabitants, and representations of their dwellings, activities, clothing, weapons, physiognomy and other ethnographic data.⁷⁹

While Webber's role was to document the voyage with as much accuracy as possible, historian J.C. Beaglehole has criticized certain embellishments:

Portraits and the figures were not his long suit: we may imagine that he did his best, but he had a sort of modern fashion-artist's devotion to length of body and of leg, a manner rather than a style... only when he is deliberately drawing a 'portrait' of some artifact or botanical specimen do

⁷⁶ John Frazier Henry, *Early maritime artists of the Pacific Northwest coast, 1741-1841* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984), 74-5.

⁷⁷ Henry, 74-5.

⁷⁸ The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, as quoted in Eleanor C. Nordyke, *Pacific Images: Views from Captain Cook's Third Voyage* (Hawaiian Historical Society, 1999), xxii.

⁷⁹ William Hauptman, *John webber: Pacific Voyager and Landscape Artist* (Bern: Kunstmuseum, 1996), 134.

we feel that we can trust him, and that these are more reliable, because less romantic, than his human beings.⁸⁰

That Beaglehole found Webber's drawings of artifacts more *reliable* might be indicative of a continuing tendency to regard natural history illustration as more truthful. In this respect, Webber's preliminary sketches of artifacts from Nootka Sound depict them in a similar manner to Stone's drawings. Distributed against a blank surface, they do not cast any visible shadows [Fig. 2.14]. His first preparatory sketch portrays five artifacts: two masks and one rattle from Nootka Sound, an Alaskan or Siberian bentwood visor and an Alaskan seal decoy helmet.⁸¹ The mixing of articles from different regions along the coast without any visible labels or distinctions is much like Stone's combinations of artifacts. The final sketch, "Forms of Animals used as Decoys" [Fig. 2.15], removes the visor from the preparatory sketch and rearranges the two masks, rattle and seal decoy into a more compact grouping. This assigns a new categorization – animals used as decoys – but still disregards regional and cultural difference. Like Stone's representations, the artifacts are viewed from slightly overhead, but it is impossible to locate the position they occupy in real space as their relative angles do not fall into a perspectival schematic.

One key difference between Webber's and Stone's drawings is that the former were completed in anticipation of their translation into an engraving. Upon returning to London in 1780, Webber was hired to prepare final versions of his drawings for reproduction as engravings that would be included in the *Atlas* folio of the official Voyage account.⁸² Completed with what appears to be graphite medium only, Webber's sketches contain distinct lines that can be easily transferred to copper plate by the

⁸⁰ J. C. Beaglehole, as quoted in Nordyke, xxiii.

⁸¹ King, *Artificial Curiosities*, Plates 3 & 4.

⁸² Nordyke, xxiv.

engraver. Joppien and Smith note that the engravings are, for the most part, unwavering reproductions of the original drawings: “There is no deliberate intention to mislead, nor are we in the presence of misleading perceptions in the engraver’s mind, unwittingly followed. Where changes do occur, they will usually be found in the addition or alteration of ornaments or weaponry of ethnographic interest.”⁸³ This may result from the fact that the engraver is one step further removed from the subject matter. For the most part, however, the finished engraving by J. Record (after Webber) entitled “Various Articles of Nootka Sound” [Figure 2.15, bottom] conforms largely to the detail in the original drawing, with the exception of some embellished texture in the masks.⁸⁴ By contrast, Stone’s drawings pay closer attention to colour and texture than Webber’s sketches. In her works, line is created by the edge of a section of coloured wash instead of bold markings. The graphite underdrawing is often barely visible beneath the surface of paint. Hauptman reminds us that Webber’s drawings are not devoid of larger political connotations, adding that “Webber’s task also consisted of creating the necessary pictures that, for British audiences in particular, would enhance Cook’s philanthropic role in bringing ‘civilization’ to the Pacific peoples.”⁸⁵ Webber’s drawings were initially produced in the field, yet they were designed to be circulated amongst a wide public. The purpose of Stone’s drawings, as mentioned above, remains unknown.

Lieutenant-General Thomas Davies has perhaps more in common with Stone in that his drawings were executed under similar circumstances – in Lever’s Museum. Born

⁸³ Ruddiger Joppien and Bernard Smith, *The Art of Captain Cook’s Voyages, Volume Two*, (New Haven: Yale U P, 1985), 107.

⁸⁴ B. Smith notes in *Imagining the Pacific* that “none of the field drawings made by Parkinson [Cook’s official artist on the first voyage] bears any close relationship to the engravings published in his *Journal*.” Thomas Chambers, the engraver for the publication, depicted a fictional sword-like weapon in his depiction

in approximately 1737, Davies was an officer in the Royal Artillery, and although he exhibited at the Royal Academy, he lacked any formal training. His paintings were mostly executed in periods of leisure and during his overseas postings.⁸⁶ He was also a competent naturalist and ornithologist who ran in the same circles as Joseph Banks.⁸⁷ He was one of the better known watercolourists to depict the Canadian landscape during four posts in the mid to late eighteenth-century. National Gallery of Canada curator Kathleen Fenwick wrote that his work contains “a brilliance, breadth and clarity not to be associated again with the Canadian landscape until more than a century and a half later with the advent of the Group of Seven.”⁸⁸ Other than landscape and topographical views, he completed several watercolours of animal species encountered in his travels.

Given his passion for natural history, it is not surprising that Davies took an interest in Lever’s museum. J.C.H. King has identified the significance of Davies’s drawings of ethnographic objects as records of eighteenth-century material culture. There are ten such drawings in the Hastings Museum and Art Gallery, reproduced in *Provenance: Twelve Collectors of Ethnographic Art in England 1760-1990*.⁸⁹ At least three of these contain material culture from the Northwest Coast.⁹⁰ Davies’s work shares many aspects with Stone’s albums; both are drawn in graphite medium, then watercolour, and both adapt the size of the drawings to the page’s parameters. (In recognition of this,

of an Australian Aboriginal warrior, following Sydney Parkinson’s textual notes instead of his field drawings. See Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific*, 92-94.

⁸⁵ Hauptman, 134.

⁸⁶ R. H. Hubbard, *Thomas Davies, c. 1737-1812* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1972), 18.

⁸⁷ National Gallery of Canada, *Master Drawings from the National Gallery of Canada*, (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1988), 236.

⁸⁸ R.H. Hubbard, 20.

⁸⁹ Hermione Waterfield and J.C.H. King, *Provenance: Twelve Collectors of Ethnographic Art in England 1760-1990*, (Paris: Somogy Art Publishers, 2006). n.pag.

⁹⁰ A fourth contains an unidentifiable object, which could possibly be from the Northwest Coast.

Davies often writes the size of the actual object in inches beside the corresponding drawing.)⁹¹

And yet there are marked contrasts between the two artists' version of the same objects. In his "Masks North Coast of America" [Figure 2.16],⁹² Davies draws six masks likely from Nootka Sound, the majority of which were also drawn by Stone. In Davies's versions the features of each individual mask are simplified, and he takes extra liberties with colour in his use of a bright washes. The differences between the two artists become more clear when we examine an extant Eagle mask in the Museum für Völkerkunde (Vienna) [Figure 2.17] that has been identified as originating from Lever's collection and that both artists appear to have drawn. Stone's drawing is far more sensitive to the object's appearance [Figure 2.18]. In her shading, lines and colour, she captures the mask's features in considerable detail, right down to the shimmering effect of the reflective abalone inset eye. Davies, on the other hand, who included this mask in his group depiction (bottom row, left), abstracts the mask's shapes and elongates the beak of the mask. His colour is more uniform, his lines more distinct and generalized. He even adds details that do not exist, such as the black pupil in the eye. The same contrasts of representation can be seen in the artists' respective drawings of a bowl identified as Nuuchah-nulth (now in the British Museum) [see Figure 2.19, 2.20, 2.21]. King has compared these drawings, concluding that "neither sketch is strictly accurate: Stone omitted the supports between the figures and the bowl, while Davies left out the fluted decoration."⁹³ I would contend that despite her omission, Stone's drawing is again the more sensitive

⁹¹ Davies signs a few of his drawings: "T Davies Pinxit" or "T Davies Delin" in anticipation of a possible public reception of the works and translation into engravings.

⁹² Written in ink by the artist.

⁹³ King, *Artificial Curiosities*, 74.

rendition of the bowl, as it registers much more detail about the overall surface of the original carving.

Another important distinction between Stone's production and those of Webber and Davies becomes evident upon examination of each artist's larger corpus of work. Historians and art historians have focused on Webber and Davies largely in light of their important contributions to the documentation of travel and exploration in the eighteenth-century. As Locke affirmed in his 1693 *Thoughts Concerning Education*, drawing was considered "a thing very useful to a Gentleman in several occasions, but especially if he travel, as that which helps a Man often to express, in a few Lines well put together, what a whole sheet of Paper in writing would not be able to represent and make intelligible."⁹⁴ The efficacy and portability of the medium allowed for male artists to capture subject matter in previously uncharted territory. The demand for representations of unfamiliar lands and peoples pushed the work of these artists into public circulation. Although female artists were not afforded the same scope of travel possibilities,⁹⁵ there were opportunities for women artists to carve out a niche on domestic soil, as I have already established with respect to Stone's oeuvre.⁹⁶

VI. Objects of Reason: The Albums as *Imperial Archive*

Thus far, I have defined Stone's work as it conforms to the features of natural history illustration and the demands of Enlightenment empiricism, but I have yet to

⁹⁴ Locke, as quoted in B. Smith, 2; Drawing as a gendered activity also extended into the realm of the popular Grand Tours of this period, whereby learned gentlemen documented their travels abroad.

⁹⁵ There are a few exceptions, including the famed naturalist and artist Maria Sibylla Merian (see footnote 38), whose travel and study in Surinam resulted in the 1705 publication entitled *Metamorphosis Insectorum Surinamensium*.

⁹⁶ While I am careful not to apply an anachronistic feminine gloss, I wish to explore the larger social forces that contributed to Stone's practice.

explore how the drawings function in relation to the construction of Otherness. As Gillian Forrester observes, the artist Johnathan Richardson argued in his *Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1715) that “visual culture not only gave *pleasure* but also functioned to ‘inform the Mind’ about ‘Countries, Habits, Manners, Arms, Buildings Civil, and Military, Animals, Plants, Minerals, their Natures and Properties.’”⁹⁷ While it is not certain how Stone’s albums were used, one may propose that they formed an archive of knowledge about the cultures represented therein. In his book, *The Imperial Archive*, literary scholar Thomas Richards argues that the major administrative task of managing the distant regions of the British Empire was accomplished not through force but through *information*. The accumulation of knowledge about distant colonies, concentrated in institutions such as museums, societies and universities, formed the administrative core of the empire. In the production of ordering devices such as maps, censuses, surveys and lists of flora and fauna, “the British collected information about the countries they were adding to their map.”⁹⁸ Richards adds that it was “much easier to unify an archive composed of texts than to unify an empire made of territory.”⁹⁹ Within the construction of this *paper empire*, we may place Stone’s ethnographic drawings within the broader project of collecting, ordering and describing raw material from the soon-to-be colonial territories explored by Cook.

In her history of the collection of Maori artifacts in the eighteenth-century, Amiria Henare also pinpoints the colonial implications of text-based accumulation. Compared to

⁹⁷ Gillian Forrester, “The Universal Law of Nature,” in *The line of beauty : British drawings and watercolors of the eighteenth century*, ed. Scott Wilcox, (New Haven: Yale Centre For British Art, 2001), 73.

⁹⁸ Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993), 3.

⁹⁹ Richards, 4.

object-based collections, textual records were a more mobile form of information that could be easily disseminated to various publics.¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, they also possessed a different quality from artifacts, which was perhaps at odds with eighteenth-century demands for empirical evidence: “Unlike objects, texts did not embody knowledge *in themselves*. Instead they were, like images, representations of understandings embodied elsewhere, in materiality or in the mind of the author.”¹⁰¹ Despite these tensions, image and text-based works were perceived as crucial vehicles for the conveyance of knowledge about locations and cultures completely unknown to the British public and, according to Henare, “prepared the ground for imperial expansion into the Pacific.”¹⁰² These became primary sources for numerous polite societies and clubs where gentlemen amateurs debated discoveries of natural science and the “science of man.” In universities, the discoveries outlined in voyage texts were challenged or subsumed into theories of natural philosophy.¹⁰³ And in theatrical productions such as *Omai* and *Nootka Sound; Or, Britain Prepar’d*, text-based knowledge became the basis for the selection of costumes, props and even dialogue.¹⁰⁴

In order to understand the impact of this style of visualization on the objectification of cultures and peoples, we must further deconstruct the images for their underlying ideological operations. As Stafford conjectures, drawings of this nature show that “when we first encounter an event we may not understand it.... To learn, viewers had to be enticed into re-presenting and reenacting in their own time and place what had been

¹⁰⁰ Henare, 66.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 66.

¹⁰² Ibid., 49.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 50.

¹⁰⁴ James Hoffman, “Captain George Vancouver and British Columbia’s First Play,” *Theatre Research in Canada* 21, no. 2 (Fall/Autumn 2000).

distantly accumulated.”¹⁰⁵ In other words, drawings such as Stone’s reveal a process of assimilation – of the foreign object into a familiar aesthetic canon. Anthropologist Nicholas Thomas specifically addresses how such representations operated within the discourse of natural history illustration. In his essay “Licensed Curiosity,” he asks why representations of artifacts, despite an eighteenth-century fascination with the “exotic” appeal of other cultures, effectively disconnect the objects from the people encountered on the voyages of discovery. He compares these with the images of first contact between Cook and Indigenous peoples that fall within the conventions of history painting, with their focus on action, setting and moral implication. By contrast, drawings such as John Webber’s *Forms of Animals Used as Decoys* [Figure 2.15], which would be reproduced in numerous editions of Cook’s *Voyage*, show the objects in isolation against a blank surface. As I have established, Stone’s work also conforms to this aesthetic formula.

Thomas’s scholarship illuminates another characteristic of Stone’s work. With the exception of a few Hawaiian feather headdresses in Volume III, the majority of objects in Stone’s ethnographic albums do not cast shadows. This is especially odd given her decision to depict most natural history specimens, including representations of shells and coral arrangements, with the addition of shadows or paper backings that give the eye a sense of spatial depth and orientation [Figure 2.22]. Thomas also observes this phenomenon in other eighteenth-century representations of artifacts, and notes that it not only presents a “comprehensive abstraction from any normal physical domain, but raises a question about the position and the character of the viewers”:

...is there some correspondence between the unworldliness of the specimens’ non-space, and their own vision and interest in the objects?

¹⁰⁵ Stafford, *Artful Science*, 279.

That is, can that interest be positively constructed as an engagement that is correspondingly dehumanized and objective, free of inflected motivation, or is it intelligible only as a kind of alienation, a failure that is ensured by the severity of the images' decontextualization?¹⁰⁶

Thomas goes on to assert that this decontextualization is profoundly connected to the discourse of "curiosity" collecting in the eighteenth-century, as outlined in Chapter One. To summarize briefly, eighteenth-century attitudes towards curiosity were highly ambivalent. The attribute's connotations ranged from associations with the feminine and the child-like to an impassioned desire for knowledge and information.¹⁰⁷ Burke's indictment of curiosity includes a claim that the inherently self-serving attribute led "those who are deficient in taste to prefer things odd, rare, or singular, in order to distinguish themselves from others."¹⁰⁸

According to Thomas, the kind of detachment associated with late eighteenth-century travel journal engravings in particular corresponds to the kinds of anxieties associated with travel and curiosity collecting during this period. He argues that commerce is also central to this debate, as fetishistic collecting of curiosities was in fact "profoundly ambiguous, associated with novelty and passion,"¹⁰⁹ and such conditions of trade with foreign peoples existed on the liminal boundaries: The "topographical sites of these encounters on the edges of land and sea, civility and barbarity,"¹¹⁰ were in ambiguous zones of European influence, not yet under colonial control and supervision. Moreover, the desire for novelties was seen as a characteristic beyond the control of

¹⁰⁶ Thomas, "Licensed," 121.

¹⁰⁷ Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755) defined the trait as being "addicted to enquiry." As quoted in Thomas, 124.

¹⁰⁸ Edmund Burke, as quoted in Thomas, "Licensed," 123.

¹⁰⁹ Thomas, "Objects of Knowledge: Oceanic Artifacts in European Engravings," *In Oceania* (Durham & London: Duke U P, 1997), 108.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 108.

reason and rationality and subject to corporeal passion.¹¹¹ In order to validate their activities, collectors such as Banks and Lever turned to artists:

...it is notable that the aim of a desire 'more laudable' than curiosity is the subsumption of other lands to the form of *representation*, over which one possesses a 'great command'. It is as if picturing, understood immediately and explicitly as an operation of power, somehow establishes the legitimacy of a kind of knowledge or interest that is otherwise problematic, otherwise anxious and giddy.¹¹²

Although curiosity came under intense scrutiny, its aims in the service of obtaining knowledge abroad could be legitimized if dissociated from commercial exploitation or licentiousness.¹¹³ By removing the artifacts from any reference to human use and isolating them as one does a specimen, the object was elevated to the status of "something in a scientific enclave rather than an object of fashion or mere commodity."¹¹⁴ In botanical illustration, the field of white served to reinforce principles of Linnaean botany, which according to one scholar "sought to place plant life into static, preexistent, Platonic categories."¹¹⁵ Artists, such as the well-known botanical draughtsman G.D. Ehret, worked closely with Linnaeus so as to isolate those parts of the plant that would conform to Linnaean taxonomy.¹¹⁶ While there was no clear pictorial program at the disposal of eighteenth-century artists representing artifacts, the language of natural history illustration was adapted, Thomas argues, in order to abstract, rationalize and dehumanize things that were acquired by way of more ambiguous aims.

¹¹¹ Thomas, "Licensed," 125.

¹¹² Ibid., 125. [italics mine].

¹¹³ Some primary accounts allude to the sexual exploits of Banks and others aboard Cook's voyage. This was the subject of satires and may have coloured public opinion. Thomas, "Licensed," 130.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 134.

¹¹⁵ Beth Fowkes Tobin, "Imperial Designs: Botanical Illustration and the British Botanic Empire," *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-century British Painting* (Durham: Duke U P, 1999), 189.

¹¹⁶ B. Smith, *Imagining the Pacific*, 77.

It may be argued that the conventions established for artifact illustration are also indebted to the influence of seventeenth-century Dutch art. Thomas draws on Norman Bryson's view that in Dutch still lifes "we never see the human form at all."¹¹⁷ The viewer is "made to feel no bond of continuous life with the objects which fill the scene"¹¹⁸ Moreover, Bryson argues that the history of Western painting is "predicated on *the disavowal of deictic reference*, on the disappearance of the body as site of the image; and this twice over: for the painter, and for the viewing subject."¹¹⁹ In other words, Western representational painting is *erasive* - it attempts to cover up the appearance of the picture plane and the artist's hand.¹²⁰ We must remember, however, that watercolour as a medium rests somewhere between drawing and painting, between immediacy and permanence. Stone's work and other drawings of artifacts from this period present a conundrum in relation to this argument in that they detach the objects from human use but do not create a precise illusionistic space. And the conventions associated with representing artifacts in watercolour – the lack of shadows coupled with visible evidence of brushwork and underdrawing – set them apart from the historical trajectory of oil painting.

In *The Art of Describing*, Alpers suggests a different approach, noting that seventeenth century still lifes feature the "visual attentiveness" of Dutch Baconianism.¹²¹ Citing Samuel van Hoogstraten, Alpers argues that this approach to representation "rested on an extraordinary trust in the attentive eye":

¹¹⁷ Bryson as quoted in Thomas, "Licensed," 120.

¹¹⁸ Bryson as quoted in Thomas, "Licensed," 120.

¹¹⁹ Bryson, *Vision and Painting*, 89

¹²⁰ Bryson, 92.

Hoogstraten professes not only a notion of drawing, but also a notion of the world that is seen and drawn. He cautions the young artists against taking on a mannered style by appealing to him to humble his brush and his hand to the eye so that the diversity of the individual things in the world can be represented. This is very much the world as seen through a microscope.¹²²

Unlike their Italian counterparts, many Dutch artists paid close attention to the recording of individualistic features of things in themselves instead of producing an idealized or abstracted resemblance. Genres, still lifes and portraiture rose to prominence in the Netherlands, each relying on the communication of veristic detail. In reference to the work of Dutch naturalists, Alpers also observes the “fragmenting approach”: “first, the viewer’s eye is isolated from the rest of his body at the lens; second, what is seen is detached from the rest of the object and from the rest of the world.”¹²³ This she attributes to the attentive eye, which becomes completely absorbed into the world it conceives, selectively choosing aspects of nature to represent. Given the persistence of Baconian thought in eighteenth-century England, this aspect of Dutch painting is likely to share commonalities with Stone’s project.

Borrowing from the pictorial conventions of natural history illustration and still life painting, eighteenth-century artists developed a programmatic approach to the representation of non-European artifacts. Faced with the unfamiliar material culture of the Nuuchah-nulth, Stone mediated this difference through the mimetic reproduction of their visual appearances, translating Nuuchah-nulth artifacts into scientific specimens to be singled out and carefully scrutinized.

¹²¹ Bacon’s “reformation in Philosophy” was, put precisely, that “observation and recording things seen and set forth in words and pictures is to be the basis of new knowledge.” As quoted in Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: U Chicago P, 1983), 73.

¹²² Alpers, 76-77.

¹²³ Alpers, 85.

VI. Conclusion

It has been suggested that Lever chose Stone in part because of her own “curiosity” as a female *paintress* and the underlying associations between Stone as *subject/object* and her subjects of study. We see this gendered exceptionalism at work in the exhibition notice published in *The Morning Post*, which claims the works are “executed by Miss Stone, a young lady, who is allowed by all Artists to have succeeded in the effort beyond all imagination.”¹²⁴ As I have discussed in this chapter, women were often regarded as intuitive learners, and thus the method of producing a mimetic copy was also perceived as a didactic exercise. Moreover, drawing was one of many acceptable “accomplishments” that a lady could possess.

In the late eighteenth-century, visual representations of material culture were privileged and often preferred over textual description. Objects were drawn as isolated specimens in an ahistoric and non-spatial field, so as to provide the viewer with a kind of predetermined access only visual representation could provide. I have argued that Stone’s drawings translate the perceived exoticism of her subject matter into more familiar terms. Although it could be argued that Stone’s representations further participate in the abstraction of artifacts from their original cultural contexts. I also argue that they display a greater fidelity to the original than other comparable works. In what way, then, could Stone’s attention to detail and accuracy benefit contemporary scholars and Nuu-chah-nulth community members? As I will explore in the following chapter, the visual properties of her representations have facilitated dialogues that re-connect the artifacts with the values and cultural claims of the Nuu-chah-nulth.

¹²⁴ Jackson, 22.

CHAPTER 3: Nuu-chah-nulth Perspectives

As discussed in the previous two chapters, Stone's ethnographic drawings are at a double-removal from the original sites of meaning – first a removal of the object from its cultural context, situated inside glass cases and cabinets of curiosity, then a further selection and editing of objects from these cases, translating a 3-dimensional object into a 2-dimensional medium. As Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett contends, “the artfulness of the ethnographic object is an art of excision, of detachment, an art of the excerpt.... This I see as an essentially surgical issue.”¹

To date, there is minimal analytical scholarship on the historic illustration of Northwest Coast material culture. The most analogous area of research might be found in the more developed field of photographic studies. In her article, “Display and Captures,” Martha Black examines the photo-documentation of Northwest Coast material culture, noting how the arrangement of artifacts in photographs codifies the objects' status as commodities, museum pieces or specimens.² She observes that “few historic photographs from the Northwest Coast show the making or ritual use of Northwest Coast art. The majority show artworks on display.”³ By extension, Black draws potent links between captured images and captured heritage, arguing that the arrangements turn “objects that were used and active in native culture into static, art objects of nonnative culture.”⁴ Reminiscent of Stone's decontextualized drawings, photographic “displays of specimens”

¹ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Objects of Ethnography,” in *Exhibiting Cultures. The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 388.

² Martha Black, “Display and Captures: Some Historic Photographs from the Northwest Coast,” *American Indian Art Magazine*, 18, no. 1 (Winter 1992): 68.

³ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 70.

show the artifacts lined up against a natural background such as a white sheet.⁵ Margaret Blackman observes that in the hands of First Nations people, the content and arrangement of photographs changed. For instance, when the Haida began to commission and supervise photographic sessions at the turn of the twentieth century, the selection and significance of clothing and material culture began to reflect the personal concerns of those sitting for portraits.⁶

And yet, within the historic paradigms of museological display and representational abstraction, an artifact's original use value is not necessarily negated.⁷ In her essay, "Art as Ethno-historical Text: Science, Representation and Indigenous Presence in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Oceanic Voyage Literature," Bronwen Douglas proposes that eighteenth-century European travel drawings can literally be "read" for clues of Aboriginal subjectivities. Although contemporaneous drawings and texts became the evidence by which racial typologies were formulated, Douglas argues that these also contain traces of indigenous action and agency – or "countersigns" as she terms them.⁸ While the perspectives of indigenous peoples visited by Cook will never be fully recovered in any concrete way, studies such as Douglas's confirm that such visual culture should not be dismissed merely as racist, colonial by-products. What I take from Douglas is her trenchant observation of the "need to decentre colonial texts of all kinds, to dislodge colonial hegemony by means of an emancipatory strategy of internal

⁵ A photograph of confiscated Kwakwaka'wakw masks by W.M. Halliday shows this technique in use. Black, "Display," 74.

⁶ Margaret B. Blackman, "Copying People: Northwest Coast Native Response to Early Photography," *BC Studies* 52 (Winter 1981-82): 107.

⁷ Ceremonial values can, in fact, be actively maintained, as is the case in many museums who permit the ritual use of objects in their collections. See Miriam Clavir, *Preserving What is Valued: Museums, Conservation and First Nations* (Vancouver: UBC P, 2002).

⁸ Bronwen Douglas, "Art as Ethno-historical Text," 68.

colonization of its texts, exploiting their uncertainties, tensions, anomalies and ambivalences and disclosing their involuntary or disguised ethnographic potential.”

While the methodology of reading the “countersign” may be applied to drawings and engravings of people (such as physiognomic studies), it is less easily applied to the depiction of artifacts. Moreover, Aboriginal scholars have pointed to the limitations of postcolonial analysis when dealing with issues affecting Aboriginal peoples. I wish, then, to uncover the “disguised ethnographic potential” of Stone’s images by surveying their significance to contemporary Nuu-chah-nulth culture. I asked Nuu-chah-nulth individuals, including members of the Mowachaht-Muchalaht First Nation – the original owners of the territory in and around Nootka Sound – to locate their own meanings in Stone’s drawings. While this approach is similar to *upstreaming* (see Introduction), and thus runs counter to classical historical methods, its purpose is not to seek the roots of contemporary cultural phenomena in eighteenth-century material culture. This would assume a teleological, unbroken chain of continuity in cultural forms. Rather, I am approaching this topic with a sensitivity to the fact that cultures are never static, and that many traditions have changed shape over time.

I acknowledge the validity of contemporary Nuu-chah-nulth interpretations to an assessment of the eighteenth-century conventions of representation. The objects in Stone’s albums are a part of Nuu-chah-nulth heritage, and as such, I mean to affirm the knowledge and authority that contemporary Nuu-chah-nulth artists, scholars and community members can bring to the analysis of this visual culture. I approached the Mowachaht-Muchalaht First Nation not only to hear their perspectives, but also, in an ethical context, to make these archival images available to the community as a resource.

An Aboriginal viewpoint has been largely absent from my discussions thus far. And yet it would be remiss to generalize a single viewpoint; for this reason, I will present a number of interpretations, voices and ideas. The following chapter synthesizes information gathered through primary interviews with Nuu-chah-nulth community members, elders and creators for whom the drawings produce a variety of significations. This study is by no means a comprehensive sampling of interpretations, but hopefully opens new pathways of enquiry into the works of Sarah Stone and other representations like them. As such, this chapter a collaborative work, shaped by the voices of those who were generous enough to share their perspectives with me.

I. Colonial Imagery *At the Post*⁹

To date, numerous academic studies have contributed new insights about texts and images produced in the wake of eighteenth-century exploration. Among them, as we have seen, those of scholars Bernard Smith, Bronwen Douglas and Nicholas Thomas deconstruct these historically specific cultural products in profound ways, exposing ambiguities, contradictions and ideological operations. Their interpretations reveal eighteenth-century visual culture associated with travel and exploration as highly ambivalent products of European subjectivities, locating instabilities within the representation of difference and Otherness. Thus far, I have modeled much of my research method on these studies and on complimentary approaches (from the “New Art History”), which take as their basis the study of socio-historic conditions that provide the context for visual and literary analysis. Recent developments in postcolonialism have

informed these studies, which seek to destabilize the dominant voice of colonialism. Yet even while this approach proposes to re-frame Western constructions, it often maintains the structure of centre and periphery which continues to exclude Aboriginal interpretations of the material. In locating the precariousness of colonial texts and images, these studies destabilize European authority but often only pay lip service to the potential for Indigenous peoples to seize the material for their own use.

Aboriginal scholars, curators and artists have in their turn actively critiqued the efficacy of postcolonial and postmodern theories for their purposes. In a period supposedly beyond the era of colonialism, they ask why there remains a hierarchical system of Western domination and non-Western marginality. In “What More Do They Want?,” filmmaker and installation artist Loretta Todd argues that the West’s “excursions into our cultural territories have not brought acknowledgements of our authority and jurisdiction over our lives.”¹⁰ Instead, she argues, they appropriate First Nations cultural products into Western discourses, reducing Aboriginal agency to “a bit part” that remains a tokenistic recognition and that fails to represent a First Nations perspective. Todd uses the analogy of a nineteenth-century European artist painting a Native man on a horse, who is criticized by another Native observer who claims that his painting is wrong because it does not depict all four legs of the horse. Todd claims that, like this scenario, “there is something missing, or more insidiously, that the theories seek to impose a world view, and to assimilate my view into theirs, even while they preach multiplicity.”¹¹ Todd

⁹ Barry Ace as quoted in Ryan Rice, “Presence and Absence: Indian Art in the 1990s,” *Définitions de la culture visuelle V: Mondialisation et Postcolonialisme* (Montréal: Musée d’Art Contemporain de Montréal, 2002), 95-96.

¹⁰ Loretta Todd, “What More Do They Want?,” *Indigena: Contemporary Native Perspectives*, ed. Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin, (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1992), 71.

¹¹ Todd, 72.

highlights the Euro-centric anchoring of these theoretical frameworks, arguing that it does Aboriginal artistic productions a disservice to reduce them to such qualifications as postcolonial or postmodern. She proposes that it is only when they are viewed from Aboriginal world-views and philosophies that they cease to be defined solely according to Western categories.

Odawa artist and curator Barry Ace has also responded to the reification of theoretical discourse, most notably in his solo exhibition, *Modern Indians Standing Around at the Post* (Gallery 101, 1997). His artist statement for this exhibition includes a humorous anecdote about his experience at an academic conference, which he attended with his 85-year old great aunt, Annie Owl (the subject of his paper).¹² During a talk by prominent Anishinabe scholar and theorist Gerald Vizenor, who frequently used the words “postcolonialism” and “postmodernism,” Annie felt disengaged and left the room momentarily. She came across another disengaged elder, who asked her “ ‘Do you know what that man was talkin’ bout in there?’ Annie thought about it for a moment and then very seriously replied: ‘I think it was somethin’ bout modern Indians standing around at the trading post!’ ”¹³ Using this as a departure point for his exhibition, Ace harnesses this parodic angle to voice his serious concern with “the historical positioning and re-positioning of Indians into Western academic theoretical discourses.”¹⁴ His work invites viewers to question Western academic frameworks that analyse representations of Aboriginal cultures in the service of theoretical models. As Ace puts it, the work is also “intended specifically for Indians to identify the urgency for our communities to resist the

¹² Barry Ace as quoted in Ryan Rice, “Presence and Absence: Indian Art in the 1990s,” *Définitions de la culture visuelle V: Mondialisation et Postcolonialisme* (Montréal: Musée d’Art Contemporain de Montréal, 2002), 95-96.

¹³ Ace in Rice, 95.

often subversive voice of Western academia and begin to validate and articulate our own unique perspectives.”¹⁵

On the Northwest Coast, where Aboriginal art forms have been widely studied, there are similar voices of concern. In a conversation with art historian Charlotte Townsend-Gault, K̓i-k̓e-in (Ron Hamilton) states that despite the visibility of First Nations art, “the conversation hasn’t even begun” between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples.¹⁶ As a Nuu-chah-nulth scholar from Hupačasath territory, he believes that Western conceptions of Aboriginal culture have left out the fundamental question: “who are you?” K̓i-k̓e-in argues that from the eighteenth-century onwards, the collection of Northwest Coast material culture has been based on a Euro-centric fascination with the Other that fails to account for that Other’s system of beliefs:

So these early visitors came to our coast – they were in the dark place where the dark people are, where the pagans and heathens are – and they took back things to show the civilized, the clean, what the unwashed were doing. They brought along John Webber and his sort to make representations, to draw, to etch, to paint what the Natives were doing, and to exhibit again just how far away from civilization the visitors had been.... So that the first collecting of these things... represents a need to have a souvenir, some material, portable proof of having been where the devil still reigns.¹⁷

Referring directly to the objects collected on Cook’s third voyage, K̓i-k̓e-in suggests that the purported scientific or ethnographic purposes of eighteenth-century collecting are only a thin disguise for primitivizing colonial agendas. The desire for grotesque

¹⁴ Ibid., 96.

¹⁵ Ibid., 96.

¹⁶ Charlotte Townsend-Gault, “A Conversation with Ki-ke-in,” *Nuu-chah-nulth Voices, Histories, Objects and Journeys*, ed. Alan Hoover, (Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum, 2000), 203.

¹⁷ K̓i-k̓e-in in Gault, 206.

curiosities is supplanted today by the desire for treasured “works of art,” but, like Ace and Todd, K̓i-ke-in is skeptical that this re-labelling signals any kind of change.¹⁸

Although he produces objects that may be classed as “art,” K̓i-ke-in does not see himself as an artist.¹⁹ He sees his role as one who makes things for *use* in his community – for the daily and ceremonial lives of his people. Therefore, the types of questions he asks about artifacts relate to their utility within specific spiritual and cultural activities. Questions such as “what family, what place, what event, what story that object has to do with. What is that rattle about? What is its purpose? What is its use? What is its application?”²⁰ While it may be impossible to answer all of these questions in relation to the artifacts drawn by Stone, which date back over 200 years, it is crucial to explore these types of questions in relation to her work as it is received and interpreted today. These questions bring to light culturally-specific information that cannot be supplied by examining the collection, display, representation and reception of Nuu-chah-nulth artifacts by European publics.

II. Nuu-chah-nulth Ethnohistory and Cosmology

Before I discuss the significance of specific objects according to Nuu-chah-nulth perspectives, it is necessary to provide broad ethnohistorical information. “Nuu-chah-nulth,” meaning “all along along the mountains,” was officially adopted by the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council in 1978.²¹ It replaced “Nootka”²² as the name designating the

¹⁸ Ibid., 207.

¹⁹ K̓i-ke-in, interview by author, Port Alberni, BC, January 6, 2008.

²⁰ K̓i-ke-in in Gault, 209.

²¹ Alan McMillan, *Since the Time of the Transformers: The Ancient Heritage of the Nuu-chah-nulth, Ditidaht, and Makah* (Vancouver: UBC P, 1999), 6.

Wakashan-speaking peoples of the west coast of Vancouver Island and parts of the Olympic Peninsula.²³ Despite three linguistic variations, the Nuu-chah-nulth groups along the coast recognize themselves as a single population.²⁴ Today, there are fifteen recognized bands within Nuu-chah-nulth territory.

The basic social unit of the Nuu-chah-nulth was the local group, headed by a family of chiefs who owned certain privileges such as territory, houses, hunting rights, etc.²⁵ Subgroups, or *?uštaqim̓*,²⁶ were made up of lineages or family groups who each owned houses.²⁷ Sometimes the term “tribe” is used in reference to local groups who shared a common village – permanent sites established for groups to live in the winter.²⁸ During the winter, ceremonial activities and potlatches would take place, where rights were (and are still) maintained through ritual, song, dance, and display of crests. In exchange for gifts and feasting, visiting guests from other villages would acknowledge the status of their hosts. Hereditary chiefs established their power through inherited privileges, which included everything from economic resources, to house sites to naming privileges.²⁹

The Nuu-chah-nulth believe that the transformers put all living creatures and features of the landscape into their present incarnations.³⁰ Before their arrival, humans

²² This word means “go around” in Nuu-chah-nulth. Cook misinterpreted this word for the name of the people he encountered in Nootka Sound.

²³ Nuu-chah-nulth territory within Canada spans 300 kilometres along the west coast of Vancouver Island from Brooks Peninsula to Point-no-Point in the south, and includes inland regions. “Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council Vision and Mission” *Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council* (accessed July 15, 2008), <http://nuuchahnulth.org/tribal-council/welcome.html>

²⁴ McMillan, 9.

²⁵ McMillan, 13.

²⁶ John Stonham, *A Concise Dictionary of the Nuuchahnulth Language of Vancouver Island* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen P, 2007), 383.

²⁷ McMillan, 14

²⁸ Ibid., 15.

²⁹ Ibid., 16.

³⁰ Ibid., 30.

and animals were not separate. The ancestors encountered supernatural beings who bestowed certain powers to them, which were then passed on from generation to generation.³¹ The transformers left evidence of their presence on the land, allowing present descendants to locate their ancestry directly in the landscape.³² There are four great realms in Nuu-chah-nulth cosmology: the sea world, overseen by *Hilthsuu-is Ha'wilth* (the Undersea Great Spirit Chief); the land and mountain world, overseen by *Ha'wii-im* (Great Spirit Chief of the Land); the sky world, overseen by *Yaalthapii H'wilth* (Way Up in the Sky Great Spirit Chief); and the spirit world, overseen by *Ha-wilthsuu-is* (Great Spirit Chief Beyond the Horizon).³³ Susan Moogk calls this fourth realm the “Inbetween” – the liminal boundary between the sea and the land, and the sky and the sea.³⁴ She notes that the realm of the Inbetween is inhabited by “dangerous, incredible ‘out of this world’ beings who are not classifiable as are ordinary beings, because the components of these beings are combined so that they form logical paradoxes.”³⁵ She goes on to assert that it is through an encounter with the realm of the Inbetween that a person receives power, and that this process involves some form of transformation.³⁶

³¹ Ibid., 31

³² Ibid., 31. One of the primary transformers amongst the Northern Nuu-chah-nulth was Andaokot, also called “Mucus-Made” or “Snot Boy.” He was formed from the snot of a mother’s nose who was grieving the loss of her child to a supernatural being. Andaokot rescued the children who had been taken by the being and restored them to life, then climbed to the sky world, where he received instructions to return to earth in order to transform things. McMillan, 32.

³³ K̓i-ke-in, “Nuu-chah-nulth: A Nation Always Praying,” *Listening to Our Ancestors: The Art of Native Life Along the Pacific Northwest Coast*, ed. Robert Joseph (Washington: NMAI, Smithsonian Institution in association with National Geographic, 2005), 45; this realm is also sometimes called “South.” Susan Moogk, *The Wolf Masks of the Nootka Ritual: A Statement on Transformation* (Master’s Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1980), 19.

³⁴ Moogk 19.

³⁵ Ibid., 22.

³⁶ Ibid., 24-25.

ʔuusimch (*ʔuusimčmis*³⁷) is the spiritual power associated with ritual preparation for certain activities, generally performed when the moon is waxing or full.³⁸ Each family has a separate place of prayer and special medicines for this purpose that have been inherited through generations.³⁹ Varying levels of preparation exist, from the cleansing of the hands to years of purification, associated with activities such as the whale hunt.⁴⁰ Whaling was one of the most important activities for the Nuu-chah-nulth, with each role in the hunt determined by rank (the *hāwīt* [chief] was the harpooner). Although whaling is no longer commonly practised by Vancouver Island Nuu-chah-nulth groups,⁴¹ a knowledge of hereditary roles remains. The Nuu-chah-nulth continue to pass down songs and chants used in the ceremonies associated with whaling rituals and whaling continues to be a prominent theme in spiritual life.⁴² The Huu-ay-aht elder, Mexsis, declares: “the land and sea are tied together [and] cannot be separated...We recognize that we may never whale again in the traditional way, but we will always practise the spirituality that has been passed down from generation to generation.”⁴³

³⁷ John Stonham, *A Concise Dictionary of the Nuuchahnulth Language of Vancouver Island* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen P, 2007), 483.

³⁸ Martha Black, *HuupuKʷanum Tupaat/ Out of the Mist : Treasures of the Nuu-chah-nulth chiefs* (Vancouver: UBC P, 1999), 25.

³⁹ Black, *Out of the Mist*, 25.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁴¹ Beginning in 1999, there has been a controversial revival of whaling practices among the Makah in Washington State. See Makah Nation, “Recent Makah Whaling,” Makah.com, <http://www.makah.com/whalingrecent.html> (accessed August 20, 2008).

⁴² Tsa-qwa-supp (Art Thompson), as quoted in Black, *Out of the Mist*, 33.

⁴³ Mexsis (Tom Happynook), as quoted in Black, *Out of the Mist*, 33.

III. The Mowachaht-Muchalaht First Nation

The Mowachaht-Muchalaht people are the original owners of the territory in and around Nootka Sound.⁴⁴ They have been the subject of numerous studies that focus on their contact with Europeans and their role in the maritime fur trade of the 1790s. At the time of Cook's visit, the Mowachaht were a powerful confederacy of whaling chiefs, led by the Maquinna chiefly lineage.⁴⁵ All the tribes in the confederacy had their summer fishing village at Yuquot or "Friendly Cove," which was also the site of trade and contact with Europeans in the eighteenth-century. It continues to be an important cultural gathering place.⁴⁶ Meaning "where the wind blows from all directions," Yuquot is located on Nootka Island, off the west coast of Vancouver Island.⁴⁷ According to the Mowachaht-Muchalaht, "it is ideally located between the land and the sea, between the outside and the inside, between the abundance and energy of the ocean and the majesty and richness of the forest and inlets. It is a place of power and change."⁴⁸ The Mowachaht-Muchalaht locate the origins of their people in the wilderness at Yuquot, where the Great Creator made the first woman.⁴⁹ It is also near the original location of the Mowachaht Whaler's

⁴⁴ In 1951, the Mowachaht and their neighbours, the Muchalaht, combined to form a single political entity. They are now based in Tsaxana, a community close to Gold River.

⁴⁵ One Chief Maquinna gained power and prestige through his dealings with Europeans, and became a major figure in the Nootka Sound Controversy between Spain and England in the 1790s. The Maquinna line continues to present day, with Chief Mike Maquinna as the current *taayii hawit* (highest ranking chief).

⁴⁶ Today, only one family lives at Yuquot. For a view of the displacement and hardships faced by the Mowachaht-Muchalaht community in recent decades, see Hugh Brody (dir.), *The Washing of Tears* (Nootka Sound and Picture Co. Inc. 1994).

⁴⁷ Mowachaht-Muchalaht First Nation, "Yuquot Agenda Paper," in *Nuu-Chah-Nulth Voices, Histories, Objects & Journeys*, ed. Alan L. Hoover (Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum, 2000), 16.

⁴⁸ Mowachaht-Muchalaht First Nation, 17.

⁴⁹ The first woman would become the mother of "Snot-Boy" (see footnote 22), an important transformation figure. Mowachaht-Muchalaht First Nation, 17.

Washing House, a shrine once used by designated individuals for ritual whaling magic.⁵⁰ In the 1960s, an archaeological team found evidence of habitation in Yuquot dating back 4,300 years.⁵¹ The Mowachaht-Muchalaht expect further research to reveal a much longer occupation of the land, asserting that the region has been the homeland of their ancestors “since the beginning of time.”⁵²

Although numerous studies have focused on their historical place in European exploration and trade, the Mowachaht-Muchalaht regard their contact with Cook and other Europeans as constituting only one small moment in a long, rich history that dates back to time immemorial.⁵³ The *Yuquot Agenda Paper* was a document submitted to the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada requesting the commemoration of the Mowachaht-Muchalaht’s role in the historic events that took place in the eighteenth-century. The Mowachaht-Muchalaht made this statement about European representations of their cultural heritage:

Many of the early visitors were anxious to take home our gifts as souvenirs of their time among us. These artifacts are now the prized possessions of museums all over the world. They are our ancestors, our representatives in your great houses. Through these records, many scholars who have never visited our shores have attempted to describe and analyse our people and our culture.... Their accounts and interpretations are interesting... but they are certainly not our truth.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ The shrine, erected in approximately 1700, contained corpses “assembled for the express purpose of attracting dead whales.” Aldona Jonaitis, “The Mowachaht Whaler’s Shrine: History revealed by Carvings,” in *Nuu-chah-nulth Voices*, 294; Eventually, carved figures replaced remains, and 88 were found in 1904, when the entire shrine was removed to the American Museum of Natural History by George Hunt on behalf of Franz Boas. The Whaler’s Shrine has been the object of repatriation requests by the Mowachaht-Muchalaht since the 1980s. They regard it as one of the most important symbols of their past. Mowachaht-Muchalaht First Nation, 24.

⁵¹ For an in-depth analysis of the archaeological findings, see John Dewhirst and William J. Folan, *The Yuquot Project, Volume I*, (Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, 1980).

⁵² Mowachaht-Muchalaht First Nation, 13, 17.

⁵³ “From our perspective, Europeans did not ‘discover’ this part of the world, nor is the European arrival the single most important event in our history.” Mowachaht-Muchalaht, 14.

⁵⁴ Mowachaht-Muchalaht First Nation, 15.

The Mowachaht-Muchalaht view these early Cook collections as ambassadors, and as such they are “our boundary markers showing the extent of our influence throughout the world.”⁵⁵ From the Mowachaht-Muchalaht perspective, then, the material culture represented in museum collections and in Stone’s drawings are considered living beings – or *ancestors* – who represent the Mowachaht-Muchalaht as a powerful people and cultural force. Moreover, the Mowachaht-Muchalaht assert their claims to the interpretation of this material as part of *their* heritage.⁵⁶ They seek today to balance the historical accounts of Nootka Sound by exerting control over their past, present and future representation.

IV. *HuupuK^wanum*: The Object in Context

The Nuu-chah-nulth do not perceive the objects discussed thus far as *possessions* in the ways that Lever regarded them. *HuupuK^wanum* in Nuu-chah-nulth language literally means “the storage box of the chief,” but can also represent “all the treasures the chief has within his territories.”⁵⁷ All ceremonial objects are considered part of the inherited rights of particular *hawit* (chiefs).⁵⁸ These inherited rights include both material and intangible entities, such as names, dances, masks and privileges.⁵⁹ The meaning of the object transforms according to its current state of use. This is eloquently described by K̓i-ke-in:

⁵⁵ Ibid., 20.

⁵⁶ Plans are underway for a cultural heritage centre to be called “Nis’maas.” The concept proposal is on display at the Yuquot church.

⁵⁷ Black, *Out of the Mist*, 60. *HuupuK^wanum* was used as part of the title for the landmark exhibition at the RBCM, *HuupuK^wanum Tupaat*.

⁵⁸ Black, *Out of the Mist*, 60.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 60.

When we make things – a rattle, we’ll talk about a rattle – here, we could look at that rattle, and it would be what we call a treasure, a valuable or something which is precious and we would say it’s [ʔiihmis₁]. If I put this in a box and I’m traveling to a do with it, and it’s going to be used and come out of there, while it’s in use, in movement, in transit...it’s part of my luggage or portables. When it goes into the house where it will be used it becomes [ʔiihmis₁] again – this precious thing. When it goes behind the curtain it becomes [hāwīt₁mis], the possessions of the nobility, or chiefly people. When it’s brought out, when it comes into action – when it comes out and starts dancing, comes to life, it becomes [ċihaamis] – it’s something which is of spiritual import.⁶⁰

The terms ascribed to an object vary according to its specific use. What becomes apparent is that objects of ceremonial import are not kept in a constant state of storage or display, but are constantly in a state of flux. They become spiritual beings when they are activated within the ritual – when they *come alive* as part of a dance, song, and ceremony.

As some of the ceremonial objects drawn by Stone cannot be located in contemporary museum collections, her representations become the primary evidence of their existence. Such is the case with the three wolf masks, which signify various levels of meaning for the Nuu-chah-nulth [Fig. 3.1]. The *Companion* describes these masks as “Monstrous decorations.” Paraphrasing Cook’s *Voyage*, it notes that “they [the Nuu-chah-nulth] sometimes decoy animals by covering themselves with a skin, and running about upon all-fours, which they do very nimbly... making a kind of noise or howl at the same time; and on these occasions... masks or carved heads, as well as the real heads of different animals, are put on.”⁶¹ The author then extrapolates that visitors to Nootka Sound in an “ignorant and credulous age” (unlike their own) might otherwise have been fooled into thinking that there was “a race of beings partaking of the nature of man and

⁶⁰ Kī-ke-in, interview; The Nuu-chah-nulth words in this passage are transcribed using the orthography as in Stonham, pages 96, 50.

⁶¹ Leverian Museum, 9.

beast.”⁶² As stated earlier, and contrary to eighteenth-century Europeans perceptions, material culture representing animals or supernatural beings in Nuuchahnulth culture figure in a highly complex system of hereditary rights and lineage.

In Nuuchahnulth culture, masks can take many forms, but they perform more than a decorative function. In response to Stone’s representations of wolf masks, Mowachaht-Muchahlaht elder Max Savey solemnly responded that they are used in “very serious ceremonies... the wolf in Nuuchahnulth culture represents the highest law among the Nuuchahnulth people. Whatever the wolf decides goes.”⁶³ Wolf masks in particular are often components of one of the most important ceremonials, called *Tluuk’wāana* (or *Tluuk’wāali* in Ditidaht).⁶⁴ Often referred to as the “Wolf Society Ceremony” or the “Wolf Ritual,” the ritual involves the initiation of children by supernatural wolves. The children are abducted away from the village and spend eight days in a secluded location where elders train initiates in the ways of the Wolf Society.⁶⁵ When they are returned to the village, the children are possessed by supernatural spirits, which are driven away by a series of ceremonies. The families then display a series of songs and dances that they own, after which there is a celebratory feast.⁶⁶ This performs an important function in Nuuchahnulth society, for according to one Nuuchahnulth authority: “The elders teach the children about their heritage, their family tree, who they are related to, their songs, their values, respect.... The *Tluuk’wāana* is awesome and sacred. It is what governs our society. Going through it changes your life.”⁶⁷

⁶² Leverian Museum, 9.

⁶³ Max Savey, interview by author, Tsaxana, B.C., January 9th, 2008.

⁶⁴ orthography as in Black, *Out of the Mist*, 149.

⁶⁵ Black, *Out of the Mist*, 53.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 53.

⁶⁷ Tom (Sayach’apis), Tseshah, as quoted in Black, *Out of the Mist*, 53.

During the wolf ritual, three types of wolf mask may appear: Crawling Wolf, Whirling Wolf and Standing Wolf.⁶⁸ The description in the *Companion* (as paraphrased from Cook's *Voyage*) of masked individuals "on all fours" most likely describes the stage of Crawling Wolf, called *Saatlsaach* (or *Satlthsaach*).⁶⁹ Crawling Wolf masks are the first to appear, and are worn by dancers who lead the taking of youth from the village.⁷⁰ The three wolf masks that appear in Stone's album are also most likely Crawling Wolf masks, as confirmed by Ƙi-ƙe-in: "the figure at the bottom [middle] is probably a real wolf's hide which would be used in the same ceremony. And at the bottom another, more highly stylized and decorated with colour. But probably all three used during Crawling Wolf ceremony."⁷¹

Drawing on his experience making objects for ceremony, Ƙi-ƙe-in revealed a knowledge of the construction of the masks based on what he could see in Stone's depiction. "I'm interested in the top one," he related to me:

It's got a row of holes in it. That could be for one of three different things: they most likely were holes for little paddles, for little figures that would line the top of the headdress. Less likely... they could be pegged holes for human hair, and then finally they could be something by which skin was attached to it as a cover, or a wood slab that was pegged. The two, what look like black dots behind the eyeball, are probably attachments for the wearing....they're probably sea lion hide and it looks like they may pass through that eye socket. In the bottom image, the black and red one, you can see that in order to hollow out the headdress, and make it work, and perhaps to facilitate the articulation of the jaws, there's a hinge which is created by sewing at the bottom.⁷²

⁶⁸ Moogk, 37.

⁶⁹ Black, *Out of the Mist*, 57. It is also referred to as *Samiilth* (Ƙi-ƙe-in, interview).

⁷⁰ Moogk, 38.

⁷¹ Ƙi-ƙe-in, interview.

⁷² Ibid.

The information revealed by Ƙi-ƙe-in demonstrates that there are aspects of the masks one would not fully comprehend without having firsthand experience with masks – whether through crafting them or using them in dance.

Some Nuu-chah-nulth people are apprehensive about sharing too many details about this sacred ceremonial. An interview with the respected Heṣquiaht artist Tim Paul revealed this. He felt comfortable with talking very generally about *Thluuk^waana* as it relates to his *own* personal family history, but acknowledged that it was the prerogative of others to carefully guard their histories if they wish:

Well it's not really oftentimes talked about... A lot of people say you can't talk about that... that's very sacred, that's wrong. You can't. Well you know... there's nothing at all wrong with talking about it because it's part of our family history.... *Thluuk^waana* is a powerful powerful weapon. And *Thluuk^waana* for us, that's where we get the wolf [*q^wayačiiik*], the headdresses and so on. That's the enactment of the coming of... the special race of people that come from out there. But you can never get a literal translation of a language.⁷³

It should be noted that I have only included information about *Thluuk^waana* that can be found in published sources, and did not press any Nuu-chah-nulth individuals to reveal more than they were comfortable sharing. The sacred nature of this ceremony within Nuu-chah-nulth culture, the meanings lost in an attempt to translate its significance into Western linguistic and cultural terms, and the very power invoked by Stone's image of wolf masks all suggest a complex and multi-leveled system of knowledge surrounding *Thluuk^waana*. Many of these levels of knowledge are not necessarily the province of academic scholarship, as they are embedded in very personal family cultural histories and a system of strict inherited rights.

⁷³ Tim Paul, interview by author, Port Alberni, B.C., January 6th, 2008. Transcription of *q^wayačiiik* uses the orthography in Stonham, 514; *λuk^watšacsyi* = "wolf ritual dancing or performance."

Stone represents other ceremonial treasures, including two bird rattles. Nuu-chah-nulth *kooḥ'minne* (or *kuxmin*⁷⁴) are often carved in the form of a bird [Figures 3.2 and 3.3]. In response to Stone's drawing, the Mowachaht-Muchalaht representative for Chief Norman George, Bill Williams, commented that these types of rattles are used "mainly for potlatches or ceremonies... it could be for a welcome dance or for other ceremonial purposes. A goodbye or farewell to someone in dancing. And one person in particular would only come in and dance and use that... but each culture is different, so that could be used for other things as well." Akin to Williams' description, anthropological literature also suggests that bird rattles have many functions: they are used by those with transformative powers such as shamans and chiefs, and also in ritual prayers before speeches and as accompaniments during potlatch ceremonies.⁷⁵ They are among some of the most sacred carvings and can represent real birds, such as waterfowl, or supernatural birds encountered in visions.⁷⁶ One of these supernatural birds may be represented in the double-headed bird rattle [Fig. 3.2] which is found at the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. It is made of two hollowed pieces of wood joined together with hide, then painted.⁷⁷ Constructed in a similar way, the second bird rattle drawn by Stone has a single head [Fig. 3.3]. It cannot be located in any known collection, although Bill Holm confirms that it resembles other bird rattles collected from the west coast of Vancouver Island.⁷⁸ The rattle could be carved to represent a duck.

⁷⁴ Stonham, 481.

⁷⁵ Stephen Brown, *Spirits in the Water: Native Art Collected on Expeditions to Alaska and British Columbia, 1774-1910* (Seattle: U of W Press, 2000), 86.

⁷⁶ Black, *Out of the Mist*, 92.

⁷⁷ Stephen Brown, *Spirits in the Water*, 86.

⁷⁸ It is often difficult to identify artifacts in Stone's albums because she mixes objects of different cultural origins. I am greatly indebted to Bill Holm, who pointed out to me which artifacts were most likely of Nuu-chah-nulth origin. Bill Holm, interview by author, Seattle, WA, January 3rd, 2008.

Duck down is used by some tribes to bless and purify a space – to consecrate it as sacred – during rituals and ceremonies.⁷⁹

The ethnographer Phillip Drucker calls dance aprons a “sort of rattle,” also used during ceremonies.⁸⁰ The Mowachaht-Muchalaht elders recognized an apron drawn by Stone as one resembling those used in potlatches. “I think I’ve seen them used a couple times” said Max Savey. The dance apron in Stone’s album is made of deer hoofs fastened onto a buck-skin backing [Fig. 3.4].⁸¹ According to Holm, deer hoofs were very commonly used on leggings for Salish spirit dances. He was fairly certain, however, that Stone’s version is an apron. Speaking from experience, he commented: “they’re very spectacular sounding. Lots of racket... it sounds like a big crowd applauding.”⁸² K̓i-ḱe-in describes it as a crisp sound, a lot “like bones rattling... I’ve heard of [ʔuuṣtaqyu] or doctors using dress like that. I’ve also seen in my lifetime people using paraphernalia like that for dancing.”⁸³

Although it is not a ritual object, the “whaler’s hat” (as represented by Stone) [Fig. 3.5] has great significance in Nuu-chah-nulth culture. We can see from Stone’s drawing that the hat’s design is similar to other eighteenth-century hats in museum collections – a whale trails a harpoon line that is attached to floats, while a whaling chief stands in a canoe with another harpoon, at the ready.⁸⁴ The hat provides a visualization of the successful hunt, corresponding to ritual preparation in which the whaler envisions the

⁷⁹ K̓i-ḱe-in, interview.

⁸⁰ Phillip Drucker, *Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes* (Washington, US Bureau of American Ethnology, 1951), 106.

⁸¹ Max Savey, Bill Holm, Tim Paul, and K̓i-ḱe-in all identified the black objects in the drawing as deer hooves.

⁸² Bill Holm, interview.

⁸³ K̓i-ḱe-in, interview; ʔuuṣtaqyu orthography as in Stonham, 383.

⁸⁴ See description of “detail from a whaler’s hat” in Black, *Out of the Mist*, 34.

whale he is destined to hunt. Whalers believed that “a specific whale gave itself to him, through a mysterious power.... The whale gives himself to the hunter who has been praying and who is clean.”⁸⁵ The *ʔuusimch* (ritual preparation) for whaling could take up to five years, and involved the ritual cleansing of the whaler. The whaler underwent this preparation in order to transform from a human state to the state of being in the whale’s realm.⁸⁶ Thus, by rubbing himself with medicines, the whaler sought to remove the scent of humanity, and by bathing in cold waters, he rid himself of bodily warmth.⁸⁷ These kinds of rituals take place, as Moogk argues, in the literal realm of the Inbetween – at the surface of bodies of water or points of land abutting the sea.

As K̓i-ke-in explains in an essay for *Listening to Our Ancestors*, women also played an important role in the process of the whaler’s ritual preparation: “A young whaler could marry only the daughter of another whaler... she would lead a life of rigorous discipline and constant prayer.... She accompanied him to his private place for ritual bathing. She might hold a rope fastened around his waist while he bathed in glacial pools, so that if he fainted, he would not drown.”⁸⁸ Women also played an important role by weaving whaler’s hats. Jonathan King suggests that the hat itself could abstractly represent materials from the whale hunt: “one can speculate that the whole hat symbolizes the instrument used for hunting whales: the mussel-shell point being the knob and the valves the side of the hat.”⁸⁹ Although there is some debate on this matter,⁹⁰ it is

⁸⁵ Willie Sport, Huu-ay-aht, as quoted in Black, *Out of the Mist*, 33.

⁸⁶ Moogk, 25.

⁸⁷ Moogk, 25.

⁸⁸ K̓i-ke-in, *Listening to Our Ancestors*, 55.

⁸⁹ J.C.H. King, “Nuu-chah-nulth art at the British Museum,” in *Nuu-chah-nulth Voices*, 269.

⁹⁰ John Webber represented a woman wearing this hat in his sketches for Cook’s third voyage

generally believed that only high-ranking people wore these hats, perhaps only those with whale-hunting rights.⁹¹

Eighteenth-century whaler's hats are double-layered, and made with split spruce root, black-dyed cedar bark, and marine grass (surf grass) that is overlaid to create the light background in the design.⁹² Despite their prominence in eighteenth-century European records, they were no longer being produced by the period of settlement in the 1850s.⁹³ In 1904, the prominent collector, C.F. Newcombe commissioned Ellen Curley from Clayquot to create a replica of an eighteenth-century whaler's hat.⁹⁴ What she produced resembled an eighteenth-century hat, but as Andrea Laforet notes, "the inner hat appeared to be made of rush rather than cedar bark."⁹⁵ Curley's hat was not an exact replica as Newcombe had commissioned, but made use of materials and techniques more familiar to Curley's time.⁹⁶ Laforet aptly observes that this goes against the expectation in Newcombe's day of a people, "representative of a society somehow timeless."⁹⁷ Since the 1960s, a second revival of the whaler's hat has emerged, combining both traditional and contemporary aspects of the eighteenth-century hats.⁹⁸ Mowachaht-Muchalaht elder Cecilia Savey makes single-fabric knobbed hats of cedar bark, creating the design elements in dyed cedar bark and bleached grass, or rafia.⁹⁹

⁹¹ Andrea Laforet, "Ellen Curley's Hat," in *Nuu-chah-nulth Voices*, 331. Tim Paul suggests that there may have been women chiefs at the time of Cook's visit, thus explaining Webber's representation of a woman wearing a whaler's hat. Paul, interview.

⁹² Black, 127.

⁹³ Laforet, 333.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 330.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 334.

⁹⁶ Curley used a wrapped twined technique also used in the production of curio baskets. Black, 128.

⁹⁷ Laforet, 336.

⁹⁸ This "second revival" has been attributed to Jessie Webster and Nellie Jacobsen of Ahousaht. King, "Nuu-chah-nulth art at the British Museum," 267.

⁹⁹ Laforet, 336. Cecilia Savey showed me one of her whaler's hats, which depicts a traditional hunt scene as described above. Cecilia Savey, interview by author, Tsaxana, B.C., January 9, 2008.

The Mowachaht-Muchalaht elders recognized the hat drawn by Stone as the “basic” form of whaler’s hat (with a standardized design of whale and whaler with harpoon), but also mentioned that there are different designs belonging to different families.¹⁰⁰ In its associations with the drawings and engravings of John Webber and Spanish artists on Malaspina’s voyage, the whaler’s hat (sometimes called the “Maquinna hat”) has also become a popular symbol of Mowachaht-Muchalaht culture and Nootka Sound. The town of Gold River has a prominently-displayed mural, which is a composite of an eighteenth-century representation of a Mowachaht man in a whaler’s hat and a modern-day photo of a fisherman proudly displaying his catch [Fig. 3.6]. The whaler’s hat signifies the power associated with the traditional whale hunt, but it has also taken on other meanings that combine the connotations of eighteenth-century nobility with contemporary Nuuchah-nulth life and practice.

The distinctive whaler’s hat in Stone’s album was likely collected at Yuquot, but there are some objects she depicted that are less identifiable. In Volume II, Stone represents a carved wooden head with a downturned mouth and closed eyes [Fig. 3.7]. A similar carved cedar head at the South African Museum is said to have come from Nootka Sound (and presented along with other items to the Governor of the Cape when Cook’s expedition was making its way back to England in 1780) [Fig. 3.8].¹⁰¹ Scholars link these mysterious carved heads to a description in Cook’s journal: “The Natives would sometimes bring strange carv’d heads, and place them in a conspicuous part of the Ship, and desire us to let them remain there, and for these they would receive no

¹⁰⁰ Mowachaht-Muchalaht elders, interview by author, Tsaxana, B.C., January 9th, 2008.

¹⁰¹ Black 23.

return.”¹⁰² Erna Gunther first suggested that these heads were not Nuu-chah-nulth in origin, but actually were acquired from the Kwakiutl (Kwakwaka’wakw) who came to trade.¹⁰³ Bill Holm also suggests the heads are not Nuu-chah-nulth, basing his conclusions on the word used to describe these people in historic accounts :

Well that word I’m sure is *nimqiiš?ath*¹⁰⁴ which is the people from Alert Bay, the Nimpkish people... And that’s what the Nuu-chah-nulth people would call the people from across Vancouver island.... And these were not masks, they were heads. This one is one of them. Because they [the Kwakwaka’wakw] – whether it’s the same thing or not – had ceremonial presentations called *toogwid* [or *toxuit*¹⁰⁵]... And this dance is still performed. They don’t do this anymore, but one thing they used to do was kill this person, and bring her magically back to life. They did this in many ways, but one way they used to do this was to chop off her head and display this bloody head all around and then put this head back under the blanket with the body, and then she would come back to life with blood all around her neck. And those heads, several of them like this one, look like severed heads.... And they had a constant relationship across the island – they had a trading trail that went up the Nimpkish river, and across the mountains and down to Nootka Sound. And so, consequently when Vancouver first went to Nimpkish village, the first people to arrive there, they had all kinds of guns. And they had that because they were trading across the island.”¹⁰⁶

Nootka Sound was the only location on this part of the Northwest Coast where Cook anchored on his voyage. Therefore, if this was indeed a Kwakwaka’wakw carving, it is likely that it was either brought in by foreign tribes or traded.

For a large number of the drawings, there are no existing artifacts or corresponding textual records, leaving only comparison on the basis of style as a means of identification. Tim Paul reminds us that the search for an “authentic” cultural origin can be misguided:

¹⁰² Cook, as quoted in Black, *Out of the Mist*, 23.

¹⁰³ King, *Artificial Curiosities from the Northwest Coast of America*, 78.

¹⁰⁴ Orthography as in Stonham, 470.

¹⁰⁵ Described in King, *Artificial Curiosities*, 78.

¹⁰⁶ Holm, interview.

Some people... say “looks very northern” or “looks very Tsimshian,” “looks Bella Bella.” But we often tend to leave out the great trading expeditions that happened with the great ocean-going canoes that people had up and down the coast here.... So up and down the coast we have songs from the Charlottes. We have songs from Alaska... but it was a way of building allies up and down the coast. Say you’re my daughter. I would bring you way up north to get married. We have access to sockeye, to migratory salmon [in the] Fraser Valley and the Fraser River. That’s big, that’s really big. So we set up that. And off you go and set up a marriage and...the dowries that come our way.... It looks very Haida, it looks very Tsimshian or Bella Coola, and they’re right. Because that’s where it comes from.¹⁰⁷

Illustrated here is the problem of stylistic attribution – because of the dense network of pre and post-contact trading ties, it is not always possible to use style as a factor for determining geographic or cultural origin.¹⁰⁸ This is not to disavow the distinctive design elements of different cultures, for Paul notes in another interview the “Nootkan-type eye form which is stretched from just about the nose to almost the side of the mask” which differs from the Northern eye form.¹⁰⁹ While K̓i-ḱe-in can also pinpoint the distinctive features of Nuu-chah-nulth material culture, he also asserts that these are, again, the wrong types of questions to foreground: “Because whether or not an object has split U’s, or tertiary fields, or can be identified as being by ‘a great Haida master from Masset in the 1870s’ because of similar pieces collected by people that are dated and authenticated... doesn’t affect what it is.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Paul, interview.

¹⁰⁸ Not only did they have extensive trade routes, but certain vessels may have carried Northwest Coast peoples across the Pacific ocean. The Mowachaht-Muchalaht elders told me that sealing schooners carrying their people disappeared and didn’t return. Some people ended up in Russia and possibly parts of Asia. Wilfred Andrews said: “We had a group go over to Japan, and one of my relatives told me that some of the street names that they have over there are words in our language, Nuu-chah-nulth.” Mowachaht-Muchalaht elders, interview.

¹⁰⁹ Tim Paul as quoted in “Contemporary Accounts of Nootkan Culture,” ed. Barbara S. Efrat and W.J. Langlois, *Sound Heritage* 7, no. 2 (1978): 52.

¹¹⁰ K̓i-ḱe-in as quoted in Gault, 209.

While some Nuu-chah-nulth artifacts in Stone's albums cannot be positively identified through stylistic analysis, others are instantly recognizable because their basic forms can be seen in objects used in present day. A hook, represented along with three other fishing implements, [Fig. 3.9, top left] is very characteristic of halibut hooks, or *čimun*¹¹¹ from Vancouver Island. Wilfred Andrews explains how these hooks were used:

Well, the curved area – that was where the bait was tied on and wrapped around that shaft there, that curve. And the halibut just swallowed the whole thing and got caught in the barb there. Even today, they have hooks – they call them circle hooks – almost like that for halibut. I used to wonder how it works, but one of our fisherman he was throwing the hooks overboard and they got hooked. You wouldn't think so because it's a circle like that but he got hooked. So they knew a lot about what they were doing when they made that.¹¹²

The hooks were made from sections of spruce root that were steamed in kelp bulbs and bent into the characteristic U shape [Fig. 3.10].¹¹³ A bone barb was lashed to one arm of the spruce root in order to project inwards, and a nettle-fibre leader was tied to the other arm, as illustrated by Stone.¹¹⁴ Pairs of hooks could also be attached to a spreader or spacer, anchored down with a stone sinker.¹¹⁵ The ingenuity required for such an invention demonstrates the technical advancements present in pre-contact Nuu-chah-nulth material culture.

V. The Object Reinscribed

As discussed above, there is a strong tendency to situate Stone's images within the framework of recent academic discourses, which seek to deconstruct their

¹¹¹ Stonham, 450.

¹¹² Wilfred Andrews, interview by author, Tsaxana, B.C., January 9th, 2008.

¹¹³ Philip Drucker, 22.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

authoritative guise, revealing them as visual productions contingent on a range of historical and ideological factors. I have also demonstrated that today Sarah Stone's drawings set in motion a series of important discussions about material culture as it fits Nuu-chah-nulth cultural prerogatives. The drawings also raise important questions about ownership, stylistic authentication, and utility.

Even though they will never be the “real thing,” the resounding opinion of the Nuu-chah-nulth people interviewed is that they are quite “accurate” representations of Nuu-chah-nulth heritage. At one point, I asked K̓i-ḱe-in if he thought Stone's images were respectful given that the artist had never encountered Northwest Coast art in the past. “I think she had a great respect for it,” he responded. “I mean, the validity of her work, the accuracy of it to me is really quite remarkable. I like it. We could, as I said earlier, nit-pick and say ‘oh, well it’s not accurate in this respect or that respect,’ but they’re very fine works.”¹¹⁶ Later, when I asked about the effect of transcribing 3D objects that are *alive in the culture* onto a 2D surface, he responded:

Well of course it does in a mechanical sense, but I think she’s very faithful, very respectful. ...One thing which I believe she illustrated dishonestly, and I think she had a purpose, and that was the wrapping on that adze with the beautiful Thunderbird head? [see Fig. 2.10]. She spaced them wide apart so you could see how that twine that was attaching the blade to that handle worked.¹¹⁷

Even if their two-dimensionality negates a use value, Sarah Stone's drawings are interpreted here as didactic tools. To K̓i-ḱe-in, this *utility* is what distinguishes early collections such as the Cook collection.

¹¹⁵ Drucker, 23. Also see Hilary Stewart, *Indian Fishing: Early Methods on the Northwest Coast* (Seattle: U of W P, 1994).

¹¹⁶ K̓i-ḱe-in, interview.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

Tim Paul also notes the accuracy of Stone's work. In an interview for *Sound Heritage*, he says that when he began making art in the early years, he made the occasional model pole or Nootkan style canoe, but "it didn't really mean anything to me. I didn't really understand it. I didn't know what was going on in the forms, you know the elements, and the separate styles, and so on."¹¹⁸ Quoting this interview, I asked Paul if he thought Stone's drawings reflect a lack of understanding about the culture. At first he notes: "at times when you look at it, it seems... there seems to be some exaggeration." But after some closer examination, the artist tells me "she's really very close in some of these."¹¹⁹ When I ask him to analyze her drawings page-by-page, he points to areas where she appears to slightly distort proportion or shape, but in general admits that she has captured the objects and the materials they are made from in an accurate manner. In all of my interviews with Nuu-chah-nulth individuals, the drawings – like photographs – became the object's surrogate. With a lack of the real things in front of us, the drawings as reproductions were regarded as indexical traces of the originals.

Illustrations, historic records and other materials relating to Nootka Sound, which continue to surface, have become evidence for a Mowachaht-Muchalaht claim to territorial and cultural rights. Furthermore, images such as Stone's may be used as important tools for teaching young people about their cultural heritage in order to continue lines of knowledge. Interruptions in such lines have occurred due to the repressive residential school system, the government-imposed Potlatch ban of 1884-1951 and the various displacements of the community. Mowachaht-Muchalaht elder Sam Johnson has witnessed traditions slip away within his lifetime. Born at Yuquot in 1916,

¹¹⁸ Tim Paul in "Contemporary Accounts of Nootkan Culture," 47-48.

Johnson claims “...this generation, we are far – what you might call, our canoe is tipping over. We’re drifting away from our culture, drifting away from our language, our tradition, our laws of our society, ancient society. It’s disappearing.”¹²⁰ In response to these historical forces, the transmission and recovery of collective knowledge is fundamental to the survival of Mowachaht-Muchalaht culture.

Having never seen these images before, the Mowachaht-Muchalaht elders acknowledge the value of Stone’s representations and others like them. Quoting Max Savey: “I think it would be valuable for our young people to be looking at these because I know we have hidden talent because we have many carvers. It’s in our genes. I know that. It’s in my family. All we need is someone to... push them... to motivate them....And looking at these pictures... it would help me. And I can say that I come from a master carver myself.”¹²¹ Over two hundred years have elapsed since the material in Stone’s albums was first collected off the shores of Vancouver Island. As a result of both the passage of time and of the effects of colonization, the Mowachaht-Muchalaht’s relationship to the objects and Stone’s drawings as representations cannot be expected to parallel that of their ancestors. But as Northwest Coast communities increasingly reconnect with parts of their history and heritage, the significance of the drawings lies less in the discovery of an “accurate” past, and more in the potential for future cultural growth. Artists, weavers, and carvers, etc. study older artifacts in museum collections, reviving techniques and designs while incorporating them into their contemporary practice. “I think it’s good that we can look at the old pieces and be able to take from it or

¹¹⁹ Paul, interview.

¹²⁰ Sam Johnson, as quoted in Laurie Johnson, *Nootka Sound Explored: A Westcoast History* (Campbell River: Ptarmigan P, 1991), 11.

¹²¹ Max Savey, interview.

add to it or be able to take out,” remarks Paul.¹²² Stone’s drawings have the potential to provide similar inspiration for cultural reconnection and new creative avenues.

VI. Conclusion

My interviews with contemporary Nuu-chah-nulth people contradict the argument that these eighteenth-century images of Northwest Coast heritage and art represent decontextualized objects which have lost their cultural significance. Rather, they appear in fact to evoke individual associations with the source object through visual allusion, or even by their *reference* to the use-value of the original objects. The “faithfulness” of Stone’s work, as the product of Enlightenment discourse, has at least in part facilitated this dialogue, especially where missing artifacts are concerned. By evoking associations deeply embedded in spiritual and family tradition, the images almost become stand-ins for the objects themselves, activated as referents to ceremonial and utilitarian values. Through my discussions with Mowachaht-Muchalaht elders, K̓i-ḱe-in and Tim Paul, I have come to conclusions contrary to those reached by scholars, who have conducted post-structuralist critiques of Enlightenment strategies of objectification and visualization. For such scholars, Stone’s images are products of a Western imagination; they are eighteenth-century representations of Indigenous cultures that always reveal a refashioning of those cultures within the aesthetic codes of European control, containment, and possession. These assumptions, while certainly not unfounded, limit an understanding of such visual culture as products of European subjectivities and, in fact, cut off the potentiality for those very qualities – the Enlightenment focus on accuracy and

¹²² Tim Paul in “Contemporary Accounts of Nootkan Culture,” 53.

objectification – to enable an Indigenous re-appropriation to take place. And yet, somewhat paradoxically, the Western instinct towards academic transparency – of uncovering a truth-value – is undone by the varied layers of meaning specific to family histories, which may be lost, sacred, or not the privilege of inquiring scholars. Though the surviving Nuuchah-nulth objects from Cook’s voyage exist in museums around the world, K̓i-ḱe-in asserts: “...they possess the physical object. They do not possess what that object represents and they never can.”¹²³ By re-framing Stone’s work, I have become witness to how the drawings represent both the materiality of the artifacts, and the ways these artifacts are made meaningful within a nexus of knowledge, rights and culturally-specific mandates.

¹²³ K̓i-ḱe-in in Gault, 209.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis has been to trace the movements of a set of Nuu-chah-nulth artifacts through various contexts of representation – namely, in their collection within Ashton Lever’s museum, to their translation into watercolour drawings by Sarah Stone, to their interpretation and re-claiming by contemporary Nuu-chah-nulth community members, creators and artists. My investigations have revealed that the significance of these artifacts is context-specific. The values associated with the artifacts have largely been determined by the various subjectivities that have come into contact with the collection – from original creators, to collector, to artist, to scholars, to representatives from source communities. There are more individuals and events that could be linked within this chain of exchange and movement. A more comprehensive study might examine the collection of material culture on Cook’s third voyage, the dispersal of museum artifacts over time, or representations of Nuu-chah-nulth culture as they appeared in the publication record. However, the scope of this thesis is limited to specific issues that establish the context for Stone’s representation of Nuu-chah-nulth artifacts and the means by which contemporary individuals interpret her work today, exploring only a few key moments in the “life history” of this material culture and its embodiment in ethnographic albums. I have argued that the drawings may be viewed as more than a system of cataloging a museum’s contents. These case studies bring to light the many ways in which history is mediated and interpreted through visual culture.

While it may seem erroneous to conflate both the objects of inquiry and the drawings that represent them, this thesis argues that these distinctions become blurred in certain contexts. Stone’s isolated and detailed studies of her subject-matter, conform to

the late eighteenth-century translation of ethnographic artifacts into the aesthetic categories of natural history. The realism with which she achieves this translation has, somewhat paradoxically, facilitated culturally-specific Nuu-chah-nulth claims to the material because their accuracy registers the indexical trace of the source artifact. Materiality is brought to the fore in these discussions, effectively re-making the archival material as a source of culturally-relevant information. My Nuu-chah-nulth interview sources were not interested in talking about her works as European representations, focusing rather on the objects she depicted and their specific functions and constructions. This is an important feature of the drawings, because many of the original artifacts linked to Cook's voyage are inaccessible to contemporary Nuu-chah-nulth individuals – either in the holdings of distant European museums, private collections or lost altogether.¹

This argument parallels recent theorization and insight into the asymmetrical power relations inherent in ethnographic photography that have led to a number of important shifts in approach towards historic photographic collections. Museums and photo historians have initiated projects that bring archival photographs back to source communities,² not only making them newly accessible to these communities, but, as Elizabeth Edwards has articulated, making possible the re-introduction of private meanings to public images.³ This strategy, which has been termed “visual repatriation,” defines the process by which “photographs that were created as colonial documents, and which became ‘ethnographic’ records through their entanglements within specific

¹ It should be noted, however, that the Mowachaht-Muchalaht have an official delegation that have travelled to view material culture originating from their territory in foreign collections.

² A relevant Canadian example of such endeavours is *Project Naming*, a collaborative project between Library and Archives Canada (LAC); Nunavut Sivuniksavut, an Inuit College program in Ottawa; and Nunavut's Department of Culture, Languages, Elders and Youth. It is designed to identify individuals in

institutional structures, become family history, clan history or community history.”⁴

Edwards identifies this new phase in the social biography of the images as having the “cultural potential for being not only about loss, but instead empowerment, renewal and contestation.”⁵ If these kinds of projects have been carried out with respect to photographic works, would it not seem fitting to apply some of the same methodologies to other types of archival holdings?

For the Nuuchah-nulth individuals I interviewed, Stone’s drawings represent *loss* in their reminder that the collection, interpretation and control of their historic material culture has largely resulted from outside interventions. Especially with such historically-distanced artifacts, it is also a reminder of cultural changes affected by the passage of time and assimilationist policies. And yet access and repossession of the images may also facilitate the assertion of a Nuuchah-nulth world-view in the interpretation of historic visual culture that is an inextricable part of their heritage. It is also a reminder, as Edwards puts it, that meanings are “generated by their viewers and dependent on the context of their viewing, their relationship with written or spoken ‘texts,’ and the embodied subjectivities of the viewer.”⁶

For this reason, my thesis begins with the assembly of the artifacts in Lever’s museum, where artificial curiosities were brought into an eclectic collection that mixed curiosity with educational priorities. Closely resembling the Renaissance *theatrum mundi*, Lever’s *Holophusicon* aimed to represent metaphorically the diverse contents of

archival photos at the LAC and connect Inuit youth with elders. For more information, see <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/inuit/index-e.html>

³ Edwards, 85.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., 86.

⁶ Ibid., 84.

the world through both European and non-European objects in its collection. 'Artificial curiosities' were often grouped together with other 'curious' natural specimens and historical objects, revealing that even by the late eighteenth-century, a scientific organization or taxonomy of ethnographic collections had yet to be achieved. Lever's encyclopedic collection borrowed many aspects of its scope and display methods from earlier museum models, such as the virtuoso cabinet of curiosities. The tragedy of Cook's final voyage gave rise to the prominence of Cook artifacts in the thematic *Sandwich Room*. Here, there was some attempt at geographic organization, but little sensitivity to cultural contexts. The information gathered by Cook and his crew might be considered an early attempt of ethnographic study, however the reactions of museum-goers indicate that the material culture of indigenous peoples was viewed through a primitivist lens. Furthermore, the collection of such objects became ideological fodder for the future exploration and colonization of regions encountered by Cook.

Sarah Stone began drawing specimens in Lever's museum soon after its opening at Leicester Square. Here, she also completed three albums full of ethnographic drawings, many of which focus on the ethnographic objects brought back from exploratory voyages. Although we do not know much about her training, Stone's practice conforms to that of the eighteenth-century "Accomplished Woman," whose talents were viewed as restrained methods of bolstering social status and marriageability. Women's education in the Enlightenment promoted a close inspection of the natural world and a faithful reproduction of its contents. More broadly, the emphasis on empiricism and taxonomic ordering during the late eighteenth-century resulted in an ever increasing reliance on visual forms of knowledge. Stone's work, like that of her contemporaries John Webber

and Thomas Davies, represent museum objects as isolated singular entities on a blank page, composed harmoniously alongside other objects according to shape and size, but somewhat arbitrarily in cultural groupings. As most of her oeuvre is confined to the museum's collection, however, Stone's drawings appear to be the most detailed and accurate studies of its objects. The regulated accuracy with which Stone represents each object links back to the idea of curiosity as a prevailing aspect of late eighteenth-century museum collections. Scholars have posited that the representation of artifacts as scientific specimens mediated the ethnographic object's tenuous associations with curiosity-collecting.

As explained above, Stone's approach to the representation of Nuu-chah-nulth artifacts has in many ways facilitated an important conversation about the drawings with both contemporary academics and Nuu-chah-nulth community members. For the original owners of the material culture in Stone's albums, the questions of European representation or Cook ethnographic practice is secondary to questions about what role these objects once played in the daily and spiritual lives of Nuu-chah-nulth peoples. These conversations also positioned the drawings in terms of how they might inspire Nuu-chah-nulth artists and creators to draw from historic material culture while maintaining forms of contemporary agency. Moreover, discussion often shifted to how the drawings might play a role in the transmission of traditional knowledge. For the Mowachaht-Muchalaht elders, this topic is at the forefront of their concerns, as it is imperative that younger generations inherit an understanding and appreciation of their cultural legacy – both in its past and present forms.

The Nuu-chah-nulth artifacts at the heart of my discussion have signified many different things to different viewers since their creation. While this project has allowed a type of Aboriginal counter-narrative to emerge within works of European visual culture,⁷ I hope that the dialogue enacted from the drawings does not end here. This thesis opens up many questions about the role of the archive and archival research. Most importantly, it asks how archival material might be used by various communities – both academic and non-academic – to investigate the significations produced by works of intersecting cultural origins.

⁷ See Douglas, “Art as Ethno-historic Text.”

IMAGES

0.1. Map of Nootka Sound. NASA Visible Earth. <http://visibleearth.nasa.gov> (accessed August 26, 2008).

0.2. Map of Mowachaht-Muchalaht tribal territory. Wikipedia.org.
<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Mowachaht-Muchalaht.png> (accessed October 17, 2008)

1.1 Sarah Stone, *The interior of Sir Ashton Lever's Museum, Leicester House, London, c. 1780s*,. Watercolour. Reproduced from Hermione Waterfield and J.C.H. King. *Provenance: Twelve Collectors of Ethnographic Art in England 1760-1990* (Paris: Somogy, 2006). n.pag.

1.2 Anonymous, *The interior of Sir Ashton Lever's Museum when at Leicester House, London (copy), c. 1835*. watercolour and/or coloured inks. Ethnographic Department of the British Museum. Reproduced from Christine E. Jackson. *Sarah Stone: Natural Curiosities from the New Worlds*. (London: Merrell Holberton, 1998). front jacket.

1.3 W. Skelton (engraving) after Sarah Stone and C. Ryley. Title page of *A Companion to the Museum* (late Sir Ashton Lever's) removed to Albion Street, the Surrey End of Black Friars Bridge, 1790. Reproduced from Hermione Waterfield and J.C.H. King. *Provenance: Twelve Collectors of Ethnographic Art in England 1760-1990* (Paris: Somogy, 2006). n.pag.

1.4 Edward Francis Burney. *A view of Philip James de Loutherbourg's Eidophusikon*. Ink and watercolour. British Museum Collections Database. www.britishmuseum.org/research (accessed May 10 2008).

2.1. Engraving after Sydney Parkinson. "Various kinds of Instruments, Utensils, &c., of the Inhabitants of New Zealand, with some Instruments &c., of the People of Terra del Fuego and New Holland." in Sydney Parkinson. *Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas*. 1773. Plate XXVI.
http://image.sl.nsw.gov.au/banks/ban23_01.jpg (accessed June 14, 2008).

2.2. Engraving after Peter Mazell. "Tomahawk and Bow." Published in Pennant, Thomas. *Arctic Zoology*, Vol. 1, plate VI. London, 1784-85. Eighteenth Century Collections Online.
<http://galenet.galegroup.com.proxy.library.carleton.ca/servlet/ECCO> (accessed June 14, 2008).

2.3. Engraving after Skelton. "Weapons from the Pacific." Published in Meyrick, 1830. vol. I, plate CL. Reproduced from J.C.H. King. *Artificial Curiosities from the Northwest Coast of America*, (London: British Museum Publications, 1981), plate 5. Figure 1 (top centre) and 7 are Nuu-chah-nulth artifacts.

2.4. John and Andrew van Rymsdyk. *Museum Britannicum, being an exhibition of a great variety of antiquities and natural curiosities, belonging to that noble and magnificent cabinet, the British Museum*. London, 1778. Engraving. plate 13. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. <http://galenet.galegroup.com.proxy.library.carleton.ca/servlet/ECCO> (accessed June 17, 2008).

2.5. Sarah Stone. *Sketch Book Volume the Second*, page 60. watercolour, c. 1783. Bishop Museum Library and Archives Fuller Collection. Photo: David Franzen.

2.6. Club (University of Cambridge Museum). Photo reproduced from Stephen Brown. *Spirits of the Water: Native Art Collected on Expeditions to Alaska and British Columbia, 1774-1910* (Seattle: U of W Press, 2000). 89.

2.7. Sarah Stone. *Sketch Book Volume the Second*. page 12. watercolour. c. 1783. Bishop Museum Library and Archives Fuller Collection. Photo: David Franzen..

2.8. Sarah Stone. *Sketch Book Volume the Second*. page 39. watercolour. c. 1783. Bishop Museum Library and Archives Fuller Collection. Photo: David Franzen.

2.9. Sarah Stone. *Sketch Book Volume the Second*, page 25. watercolour, c. 1783. Bishop Museum Library and Archives Fuller Collection. Photo: David Franzen.

2.10. Sarah Stone. *Sketch Book Volume the Second*, page 39, watercolour. c. 1783. Bishop Museum Library and Archives Fuller Collection. Photo: David Franzen. (adze on the right).

2.11. Adze (Exeter). Photo reproduced from Adrienne Kaeppler. *"Artificial Curiosities": An Exposition of Native Manufactures Collected on the Three Pacific Voyages of Captain James Cook. R.N.* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum P, 1978). 264.

2.12. Sarah Stone. *Sketch Book Volume the Second*, page 59. watercolour. c. 1783. Bishop Museum Library and Archives Fuller Collection. Photo: David Franzen.

2.13. Sarah Stone. *West Indian Flamingo*. Watercolour. Natural History Museum, London. Reproduced from Christine E. Jackson. *Sarah Stone: Natural Curiosities from the New Worlds*. (London: Merrell Holberton, 1998). 83.

2.14. John Webber. Preparatory sketch of artifacts collected on Cook's Third Voyage. Ink and wash. British Library. Reproduced from King. *Artificial Curiosities from the Northwest Coast of America*, (London: British Museum Publications, 1981). Plate 3.

VARIOUS ARTICLES, AT NOOTKA SOUND.

After the original

2.15. John Webber. Final sketch of artifacts collected on Cook's Third Voyage: *Forms of Animals used as Decoys*; and Engraving by J. Record after John Webber. *Various Articles at Nootka Sound*. for plate 40 of the *Atlas to Cook's Voyage*. British Library. Reproduced from King. *Artificial Curiosities from the Northwest Coast of America* (London: British Museum Publications, 1981). plate 4.

2.16. Thomas Davies. "Masks North Coast of America." Watercolour. Hastings Museum and Art Gallery. Reproduced from Hermione Waterfield and J.C.H. King. *Provenance: Twelve Collectors of Ethnographic Art in England 1760-1990* (Paris: Somogy, 2006). n.pag.

2.17. Eagle-shaped Forehead Mask (Nuu-chah-nulth). Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna. Photo reproduced from Stephen Brown. *Spirits of the Water: Native Art Collected on Expeditions to Alaska and British Columbia, 1774-1910* (Seattle: U of W Press, 2000). 84.

2.18. Sarah Stone. *Sketch Book Volume the Second*. page 65. watercolour. c. 1783. Bishop Museum Library and Archives Fuller Collection. Photo: David Franzen. (Eagle Mask Top)

2.19. Thomas Davies. "A Nuu-chah-nulth bowl and a Hawaiian bowl" (detail). Hastings Museum and Art Gallery. Reproduced from Hermione Waterfield and J.C.H. King, *Provenance: Twelve Collectors of Ethnographic Art in England 1760-1990* (Paris: Somogy, 2006), n.pag.

2.20. Sarah Stone, watercolour, c. 1783, Bishop Museum Library and Archives Fuller Collection. Reproduced from J.C.H. King, *Artificial Curiosities from the Northwest Coast of America*, (London: British Museum Publications, 1981), colour plate 12.

2.21. Nuu-chah-nulth bowl (British Museum). Photo reproduced in J.C.H. King, *Artificial Curiosities from the Northwest Coast of America*, (London: British Museum Publications, 1981).

2.22. Sarah Stone. Drawing of a fluted clam and thorny oyster. Watercolour. Natural History Museum, London. Reproduced from Christine E. Jackson. *Sarah Stone: Natural Curiosities from the New Worlds*. (London: Merrell Holberton, 1998). 51.

3.1. Sarah Stone. *Sketch Book Volume the Second*, page 64, watercolour, c. 1783. Bishop Museum Library and Archives Fuller Collection. Photo: David Franzen.

3.2. Sarah Stone. *Sketch Book Volume the Second*, page 25. watercolour. c. 1783. Bishop Museum Library and Archives Fuller Collection. Photo: David Franzen.

3.3. Sarah Stone. *Sketch Book Volume the Second*, page 28. watercolour. c. 1783. Bishop Museum Library and Archives Fuller Collection. Photo: David Franzen.

3.4. Sarah Stone. *Sketch Book Volume the Second*, page 49. watercolour. c. 1783. Bishop Museum Library and Archives Fuller Collection. Photo: David Franzen.

3.5. Sarah Stone. *Sketch Book Volume the Second*. page 26. watercolour. c. 1783. Bishop Museum Library and Archives Fuller Collection. Photo: David Franzen.

3.6. Gold River Chamber of Commerce advertisement (Gold River, B.C). photo: Julia Lum.

3.7. Sarah Stone. *Sketch Book Volume the Second*, page 23. watercolour. c. 1783. Bishop Museum Library and Archives Fuller Collection. Photo: David Franzen.

3.8. Cedar Head (South African Museum). Photo reproduced from Martha Black. *HuupuK^wanum Tupaat/ Out of the Mist: Treasures of the Nuu-chah-nulth Chiefs*. (Victoria: RBCM, 1999). 23.

3.9. Sarah Stone. *Sketch Book Volume the Second*, page 42. watercolour. c. 1783. Bishop Museum Library and Archives Fuller Collection. Photo: David Franzen.

3.10. Halibut Hook. Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. Photo: Mitchell Frank.

APPENDIX

Drawings with Northwest Coast objects, as identified by established literature and interview sources.

Sources:

- BI** Bishop Museum Library and Archives catalogue information. Call Number: 1964.0019.0001. Photo: David Franzen. (No preproduction without written permission).
- BL** Black, Martha. *HuupuKʷanum tupaat/ out of the mist : treasures of the Nuu-chah-nulth chiefs*. Victoria: RBCM, 1999.
- BR** Brown, Steven C. *Spirits of the Water: Native Art Collected on Expeditions to Alaska and British Columbia, 1774-1910*. Seattle: U of W P, 2000.
- DR** Drucker, Philip. *Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes*. Washington: US Bureau of American Ethnology, 1951.
- FO** Force, Roland and Maryanne. *Art and Artifacts of the 18th Century: Objects in the Leverian Museum As painted by Sarah Stone*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1968.
- HO** Holm, Bill. interview by author. January 3, 2008. Seattle, WA.
- KA** Kaeppler, Adrienne L. *"Artificial Curiosities": An Exposition of Native Manufactures Collected on the Three Pacific Voyages of Captain James Cook, R.N.* Honolulu: Bishop Museum P, 1978.
- KI** King, Jonathan. *Artificial Curiosities from the Northwest Coast of America*. London: British Museum Publications, 1981.
- KK** Ki-ke-in (Ron Hamilton). interview by author. January 6, 2008. Port Alberni, BC.
- MM** Elders of the Mowachaht-Muchalaht First Nation, interview by author. January 9, 2008. Tsaxana, B.C.
- ST** Stewart, Hilary. *Stone, Bone, Antler and Shell: Artifacts of the Northwest Coast*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1996.

Cultural Origin:

NWC Northwest Coast (of North America), specific culture unknown

NCN Likely of Nuu-chah-nulth cultural origin (west coast of Vancouver Island)

Existing Artifact:

MU: Museum catalogue information

<p>BI: Pacific Northwest Coast two headed ceremonial weapon. Volume 2, page 30. 33 x 21 cm.</p> <p>HO: "It's very rare. Very unusual. There are other all-stone clubs, but none with this much sculpture on them."</p> <p>KK: "It seems to be a wolf. With probably human hair attached by pitch to the top of the wolf's head in the back, and then what might be – I don't know – representations of claws, down here in the middle. And then the actual killing point, the pike that sticks out, that's for – I'm guessing – piercing human skulls, and then at the finial there's an eagle or other bird, with his eyes pierced, again for a wrist strap. And the beak forms the bottom of the hilt to stop it from slipping in your hand."</p> <p>MU: NCN Ceremonial weapon, Hauberg collection, Seattle Art Museum, (KA 257, figure 559).</p>
<p>BI: Pacific Northwest Coast head carving. Volume 2, page 31. 33 x 21 cm.</p> <p>Unknown object.</p> <p>KK: "This amazes me, because I don't know what it is, and there's temptation to see at as a NWC object, but I think its probably Polynesian.... The face is in every respect like a traditional Nuuchah-nulth face. There's a tradition of carving arms and legs as a way of holding tools and so on.... But it would be so finely tied with a few passes of what looks like woven root or bark or something binding it to the handle just doesn't work for me [as a weapon].... Either that or it could be some ritual object that doesn't have a real function, other than status, or something."</p> <p>MM: Stone edge for striking.</p>
<p>BI: Pacific Northwest Coast dagger shaped stone weapon and necklace. Volume 2, page 33. 33 x 21 cm.</p> <p>Left: NWC monolithic dagger</p> <p>BR 92: "One end of this spindle-shaped monolithic dagger is deeply carved with concentric circles. Ethnographers believe that it was used for smashing skulls—as indicated by its name in the Yuquot language, see <i>aik</i>—in certain ceremonies described in historic chronicles. Although there are various opinions as to its true purpose, records exist of similar objects being found among the Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakiutl)."</p> <p>HO: "typical fighting implement." Used to ceremonially strike coppers in Kwakwaka'wakw territory.</p> <p>Right: unknown shell necklace. Tierra del Fuego? (see KA 278).</p>

BI: Pacific Northwest Coast weapons

Volume 2, page 34. 33 x 21 cm.

Left: NWC ceremonial weapon.

HO: "I think it represents a human face. With a stone coming out of the mouth like a tongue."

KA 256: "A number of ceremonial implements, some of them traditionally known as "slave killers," were collected on Cook's voyage."

KK: "Its a standard thing to use a limb, an arm, a leg, [or] a hand as a handle with the finial with a human hand [on] a slave killer, a war weapon, or a war club. The geometric designs are absolutely reminiscent of standard old West Coast [NCN] stuff. It looks like to me that it may have dentalia in the hair...Seems to be an obsidian point again."

Right: NWC woodworking tool ("D adze")

HO: "Whalebone adze... most likely representing a salmon rather than a bird."

KK: D-adze, *čahýak*^w (hand adze). "I think it depicts a Hawk or Thunderbird."

MM: Either an eagle or thunderbird represented. For carving in finer detail. "Used for carving totem poles, canoes." (Max Savey)

MU: Exeter (E 1232). Length 24.5 cm, Width 8.5 cm. (KA 264).

ST 91: Blade lashed with twine or sinew.

BI: Pacific Northwest Coast ornaments.

Volume 2, page 36. 33 x 21 cm.

Bottom Right: NWC "potlatch rings" (called *skills*)

HO: "Cook was never in a place where those were characteristic. It's quite possible that they could have made their way to Nootka Sound or Prince William Sound which is more likely it seems to me."

Others: unknown.

BI: Pacific Northwest Coast objects and one human image of unknown origin. Volume 2, page 37. 33 x 21 cm.

Central Figure: Female Figure, probably Koniag or Chugach (Pacific Yup'ik), Bone, leather, and hair

BR 85: "Since prehistoric times, the Pacific Yup'ik have made small traditional figures of wood, bone, or ivory. Some of them have movable arms and legs in the style of figures made in Siberia; others are no more than heads or busts dressed in fur garments. Although they were generally considered magical or religious amulets or were used by shamans as ceremonial objects, others were children's dolls. This particular figure was acquired during James Cook's third voyage, but its exact purpose has never been discovered."

MU: University of Cambridge, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (no. 1921.567.2).

Below: 3 NWC labrets?

BI: Pacific Northwest combs. Volume 2, page 38. 33 x 21 cm.

Top Left and Bottom: NWC combs

BL 47: "During a young girl's puberty seclusion, she used a comb... to scratch her head without violating ritual restrictions."

HO: Likely from Vancouver Island. Typical of West Coast [NCN] style, with triangular relief on bottom comb.

ST: "Combs, usually made from elk antler or sea mammal bone, are a fairly rare find. While some may well have been used for grooming, others show a wear pattern of grooves running across individual teeth, which are not evenly formed for the comb to have been used by a weaver to compact the warps on a loom. Another possible use might have been to soften sinew (used in sewing) by stropping greased strands over one of the teeth. Also, the outer fibre of nettle stalks could have been prepared by stropping on the comb, before being made into twine to make a variety of fish nets."

Top Right:

KK: chinese comb.

MM: fine-toothed comb.

BI: Pacific Northwest Coast halibut hook and comb.

Volume 2, page 39. 33 x 21 cm.

Left: NCN detachable leister

KK: "Normally such an instrument would be a single shaft, terminating in two prongs with the tines, the hooks. The fish would come along and be caught in here, from above. This would be a piece, but you can see its a half way point between this and the later detachable harpoon heads (for salmon)."

MM: "It's kind of like a spear for catching fish. And the two barbs come out each side of the fish, hooks it up nice" (W. Andrews).

MU: "Head of salmon spear from Southern BC" (KI plate 82).

Right: NWC Comb

HO: "Now that looks like a true Northwest [Coast] comb on the right. It's got a typical arrangement of animals up on the side." **Re:** designs - "that's a common decorative technique on bone made by making a double pointed implement and turning round and round."

<p>BI: Pacific Northwest fishing implements. Volume 2, page 40. 33 x 21 cm.</p> <p>Left: NCN whaling harpoon HO: "That's only about 10 or 12 feet long. And then that's attached to a long harpooner end that's made of spruce or cedar twigs that are twisted into a chord. This is a real characteristic shape. The blade is mussel shell which is very sharp and fragile so they often broke in use, but it didn't matter when it was in the whale." KK: "This is a standard Nuu-chah-nulth whaling harpoon - <i>Kahita</i> we call it, "killer" - the killing point. And we can see that it's made out of mussel shell, and these are elk horn barbs, this braided sinew, and this a braided sinew leader." Right: NWC salmon harpoon head DR 19: Salmon harpoon head. HO: harpoon point used in sealing or salmon fishing. "They have a lanyard attached to it and that was fastened to a buoy that was often of an inflated bladder so that it would trail behind the seal." MU: Similar artifact: "Nootkan harpoon" (KI - NWC 80).</p>
<p>BI: Large fishing implements; Pacific Northwest, United States. Volume 2, page 41. 33 x 21 cm.</p> <p>Left: HO: NWC, possibly from Vancouver Island. "A style you see all over the coast so it's hard to say which part of the coast it comes from." MM: "They (both hooks) look like the spears that would be used for seals... or porpoise" (Wilfred Andrews). Right: HO: NWC, possibly from Vancouver Island. "It's not too different from a modern seal harpoon blade that has the two antler pieces and then the barbed point like that."</p>
<p>BI: Pacific Northwest Coast fishing lines, hooks and spearhead. Volume 2, page 42. 33 x 21 cm.</p> <p>Top Left: NCN U-shaped Halibut hook DR 22: "Sections of tough spruce root, steamed in kelp bulbs and bent into U shape... Bone barb lashed to project backward and upward." KK: typical West Coast <i>chimin</i> or <i>chimun</i>. MUS: Nootkan bentwood hooks with plaited nettle fibre leader (KI image 105, 106 NWC 78, 77).</p> <p>Bottom Left: NCN whaling lance KK: "When a whale has been harpooned once already successfully, or a number of times, and they're trying the harry a whale and tire it, and they get to a point where they really feel like they can kill the whale...they can pull alongside the whale and with a long lance like this attached...they can very rapidly harpoon in and out of the animal, hoping to do one of two things: pierce the lungs, so that if it sounds at all, the hole made by this lance will allow water into the lungs and it'll drown itself. Or, more hopefully, pierce the heart - kill it." Others: unknown</p>

BI: Pacific Northwest Coast fishing and trapping implement. Volume 2, page 43. 33 x 21 cm.
DR 21-22: For fishing cod or trolling for spring salmon. Base is spruce root grooved to receive barbed splinter of hardwood bone. Binding is nettle fibre string.
KK: "That's just how they'd be stored, carried [tied together]. The knot may have been tied by a European seaman. But they're trolling hooks."

BI: Pacific Northwest Coast circular cape and cloak. Volume 2, page 49. 33 x 21 cm.
Top: NCN cedar bark cape
KK: Yellow cedar bark cape lined with sea otter fur. Wefts seem to be cherry bark. For someone of noble birth.
MU: Similar artifact: Nootkan cedar bark and nettle fibre cape (KI Plate 75).
Bottom: NWC dance apron with deer hoofs (see chap. 3).
HO: "Deer hoof rattles, although not in rows like that, were really characteristic of the local Salish spirit dances. They wrapped them around their legs in bunches like that. If you cut this into four you could make a good set for a spirit dancer. But I think it's from Vancouver Island. It's exactly the way they make it – the thong into the back of the hoof, and that's fastened into the buck-skin backing."
KK: Deer hide or seal hide dance apron with rows of attached deer hoofs.
MM: Used in Potlatches (Max Savey)

BI: Hawaiian gods; Hawaii. Volume 2, page 12. 33 x 21 cm.
Top Right: NCN carving of mother and child
HO: "It was not likely that they were putting out a lot of souvenirs, which they then began to very fast right at this time. So I don't know what it is or what place it has. It could be just a doll."
KA 261: "Image of mother and child, British Museum (NWC 62). Height 16cm, width 6.8 cm."
KI 75: "Best documented and least understood of the artifacts from Cook's Third Voyage" Quoting **Cook:** "I could have purchased all the gods in the place, for I did not see one that was not offered me, and two or three of the very smallest sort I got."
 Made of alder, likely *alnus rubra*.
MU: British Museum, Cook-Banks collection, NWC 62.
Others: unknown

<p>BI: Pacific Northwest Coast carvings of human figures. Volume 2, page 52. 33 x 21 cm.</p> <p>Left: HO: probably not NCN. KK: NCN bone club. "I find it interesting that it has blood all over it... And there was a real desire in weaponry, to make imagery that would produce awe in some way, or fear. And I would say, you're looking at your own death coming to you."</p> <p>Right: KA 80: Wooden Image, Hawaii.</p>
<p>BI: Pacific Northwest Coast bowls and horn or wood scoop. Volume 21, page 53. 33 x 21 cm.</p> <p>Top: HO: mountain sheep horn bowl, probably Athabaskan. KK: northern sheep horn bowl. With a very common circle and dot motif....Often doesn't have animal or human imagery on it, but those kinds of geometric designs. Typically made by unfolding in the process of boiling a mountain sheep horn – taking the curl out of it and unfolding.</p> <p>MU: Similar artifact: Vienna, cat. 261</p> <p>Middle: Bowl shaped like a beaver (?) HO: Pacific Eskimo bowl, Prince William Sound. KI: Chugach wood bowl in the form of a seal MU: Similar artifacts: Bowl with beaver image, Greenwich (L15/95/). (KA 262-3); KI Colour Plate 2, (British Museum NWC 13).</p> <p>Bottom: HO: spoon made of mountain goat horn. Not NWC.</p>
<p>BI: Pacific Northwest Coast bowls and wooden scoop. Volume 2, page 54. 33 x 21 cm.</p> <p>Top: Unknown feast dish/ladle. Maybe NWC. KI: see Plate 33 for similar horn scoops from Prince William Sound KK: "I believe that the upper image is a Columbia river spoon. That's a guess."</p> <p>Middle: unknown Bottom: unknown MU: wooden vessel, Tonga? (see KA 227).</p>

<p>Bl: Pacific Northwest Coast bowls. Volume 2, page 57. 33 x 21 cm. Top: Mountain sheep horn bowl. HO: NWC or Pacific Eskimo (Southwestern Alaska) KK: Wooden copy of a sheep horn bowl. Opercula inlay. Bottom: HO: sheep horn bowl. "The same kind of bowl is found on the coast around the mouth of the Columbia – the west coast of Washington state – but it might be a trade piece that might come from there, I don't know." KK: Mountain sheep horn bowl from the Columbia River.</p>
<p>Bl: Weapon possibly from the Pacific Northwest Coast and a wooden container from Tonga or Fiji. Vol. 2, page 58. 33 x 21 cm. Top: NWC ceremonial weapon HO: "Characteristic war club with a stone tongue and a distorted human face and hair." KA 256: "A number of ceremonial implements, some of them traditionally known as "slave killers," were collected on Cook's voyage." KK: Typical NCN war club. Stone killing head protruding out of mouth. Has hair probably pegged and pitched into the back of the head. Bottom: wooden vessel, Tonga? (see KA 227)</p>
<p>Bl: Pacific Northwest Coast weapon and wooden bowl. Volume 2, page 59. 33 x 21 cm. Top: NWC ceremonial weapon. See above. HO: Similar clubs in collections at Leipzig and Berne (museums). "There are certain places on the coast where the tongue is supposed to be a powerful icon. Supposed to have a lot of power. And so very often you see tongues represented or exaggerated." MM: Possibly for grinding medicine. "There are certain things that belong to certain families that is their marker. So every family has whatever carvings that they have. And certain families, the way they have their medicines. There are certain things that are basic, and then there are things that belong to certain families." (Wilfred Andrews) Bottom: unknown</p>

BI: Pacific Northwest Coast mask and rattle.

Volume 2, page 23. 33 x 21 cm.

Top: carved wooden head. See Chapter 3 for detailed description.

BL 23: "The Natives would sometimes bring strange carv'd heads, and place them in a conspicuous part of the Ship, and desire us to let them remain there, and for these they would receive no return." (Samwell, as quoted in BL 23)

HO: carved head, probably Nimpkish (Kwakwaka'wakw).

KK: "It looks to me like it could be west coast as much as it could be a Kwakwaka'wakw thing. So, and then at what point does something that comes from somewhere else become yours? Are the Beatles a British rock group or are they a rock group? Is this a *toogwid* head or is this a Kwakwaka'wakw *toogwid* head?" (see Tim Paul quote in Chapter 3 that argues a similar point).

Bottom:

HO: "Very salish looking and it very well could be a trade piece. You have to use your imagination to see all the details of the Rotterdam rattle, but you can find where each of these shapes [are] on the Rotterdam rattle. But [the drawing is] clearly impressionistic here."

KK: "Coast salish rattle called a *Shelmuxtsiz*, used in a ceremony. And attached to this, these fibres that are hanging, would have had twined sheep's wool, dog's wool they say originally, maybe mountain goat wool. Great long, thick, white hanks of wool that they used during cleansing ceremonies in a very slow, rhythmic fashion."

MM: Salish Rattle

MU: Salish rattle, Rotterdam (Holm)

BI: Pacific Northwest Coast weapon.

Volume 2, page 60. 33 x 21 cm.

NWC ceremonial weapon (see above for similar descriptions).

BR 89: NCN Club, wood with stone blade, sea otter teeth, and human hair.

MU: University of Cambridge, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (no. 1922.949)

<p>BI: Pacific Northwest Coast snare. Volume 2, page 63. 33 x 21 cm. HO: NCN fishing tackle. MU: Similar artifact: NCN "fishing tackle" (KI plate 80)</p>
<p>BI: Pacific Northwest Coast wolf masks. Volume 2, page 64. 33 x 21 cm. All three: NWC wolf masks (see Chapter 3). HO: wolf masks, probably used in the Tlukwaana ceremony KK: 3 crawling wolf headdresses used in the <i>Saat/saach</i> and <i>Samiilth</i> ceremonies (part of Tlukwaana). MM: See Max Savey quote in Chapter 3. Re: Middle mask: "I've seen the ones they've got in the Interior... [It's made out of] Carved cedar, and they would just cover it with the skin. I haven't seen anything covered like that, though, on the island" (Wilfred Andrews)</p>
<p>BI: Pacific Northwest Coast eagle mask and seal mask. Volume 2, page 65. 33 x 21 cm. Top: NWC forehead mask. BR 84: Alder wood with abalone shell (local variety). "Forehead masks were used in ceremonies performed during the winter festivals." Old repairs in the cracks of mask made with nettle fiber chord. KK: "I've heard it described as an Eagle headdress, I've heard speculation that in fact its a Turtle...and I've heard people suggest that it's a Salmon. I think its an Eagle." MU: Bird mask, Vienna (222). Length 22.7cm, height 11cm, width 16.4 cm. (KA 258). Bottom: visor (not NWC). HO: probably Chugach or Koniaq. MU: Similar artifact: A Chugach wood seal decoy helmet. Oldman collection: 1949 Am 22 64 (KI Colour Plate 3).</p>

<p>BI: Pacific Northwest Coast bonnet. Volume 2, page 66 Unknown headdress. 33 x 21 cm. HO: Resembles a Salish headdress.</p>
<p>BI: Pacific Northwest Coast carvings. Volume 2, page 67. 33 x 21 cm. Left: NWC arrow storage box BR 95: "This is the lid of a box used to store arrows, which was collected by James Cook in 1778. During a hunt, arrows were kept in leather quivers (as can be seen in numerous illustrations), but when they were at home, at least some hunters stored their arrows in boxes specially for this purpose. The carving on this particular example indicates that it probably belonged to a prominent person in a high-ranking family. The three human figures appear to illustrate a narrative story, the text of which is unfortunately not recorded. The style of incised line carving and shallow sculptural relief in these figures, typical of the southern Northwest Coast in the eighteenth century, formed the foundation of later styles that developed in the hands of inventive nineteenth-century artists" KA 264: "Carved wooden bozes for arrows were carved with abstract designs and sometimes inlaid with animal teeth." MU: Museum fur Volkerkunde, Vienna, 215. Right: unknown carving</p>
<p>BI: Pacific Northwest Coast cloaks. Volume 3, page 30. 33 x 21 cm. Top: NWC pre-cursor to Chilkat blanket (?), likely from the North (all interview sources). HO: patterned, twined blanket. "There are two possibilities: it was a trade piece from Vancouver Island or it came from up north." Could be a very early Tlingit woven piece (based on the formline). Bottom: NWC cedar bark blanket HO: "The shape is very West Coast." Re: texture – "I think it represents some type of fuzziness of some kind. Whether it's bird skin or what. It doesn't show the texture of a cedar bark blanket." MM: "They're stripped cedar bark. Inner cedar bark. They're probably tied together with cedar bark or grass." Woven by hand. (Wilfred Andrews) MU: Similar artifact: "Nootkan cedar bark and nettle fibre cloak" (KI plate 76).</p>

<p>BI: Pacific Northwest Coast wooden dancing mask and seal carving. Volume 2, page 24. 33 x 21 cm.</p> <p>Top: NWC mask or carved head</p> <p>HO: "I believe that's a head and not a mask" Design could represent ceremonial face paint or a moustache and beard.</p> <p>KK: Typical NCN mask from that time. "And it seems to be painted with an underbase of white which is not uncommon, but again I don't know the specific mask."</p> <p>Bottom: model canoe with figures</p> <p>HO: NCN canoe carving. "It's a fairly local subject: a canoe carved with people in the canoe. And the seal also. And the canoe is Northwest Coast. It's not specifically historic West coast or Nuu-chah-nulth, it's almost more like a Salish canoe, but those Salish canoes were much more widespread in the eighteenth century than they were later when other styles came along. But, I believe it's probably from Vancouver Island."</p> <p>KK: Canoe similar to a Salsh model. Figures look Inuit.</p>
<p>BI: Pacific Northwest Coast ceremonial weapon and bird rattle. Volume 2, page 25. 33 x 21 cm.</p> <p>Top:</p> <p>HO: "There are a number of clubs around that show a human hand holding a ball. And I think they were fish or seal clubs, not war clubs."</p> <p>KK: Halibut or seal club.</p> <p>MU: Ceremonial weapon (wooden hand holding a ball), Bennet collection. Length 33cm (KA 256).</p> <p>Bottom:</p> <p>BR 86: "This rattle is made of two hollow halves of wood joined together and realistically carved in the form of two birds, probably a species that lived in the coastal areas. The wide body with two heads is a very unusual depiction, though the sculptural style of the rattle is typically Nootkan. These rattles were used for ritual purposes by shamans and by chiefs and noblemen invested with shamanic powers of transformation. They were also used in ritual prayers preceding welcoming speeches and as propitiating instruments to accompany the various dances performed during potlatch ceremonies."</p> <p>KK: "My guess is that it would be either used by an <i>ʔuuštaqyu</i> (medicine person), or a <i>hawi</i> (chief)."</p> <p>MM: See Bill Williams quote in Chapter 3.</p> <p>MU: Double bird rattle, University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, (22.948).</p>

<p>BI: Pacific Northwest Coast basketry hats. Volume 2, page 26. 33 x 21 cm.</p> <p>Top: NCN Whaler's Hat</p> <p>BL 34: "Whalers wore hats that depicted a successful hunt. The whaling chief stands in the bow of the canoe wielding a harpoon. The whale has been hit and trails a harpoon line with floats attached."</p> <p>BL 127: "These hats were woven with a warp of split spruce root and a weft of black-dyed cedar bark overlaid with a marine grass that reates the light-coloured background to the design. They have an inner and outer layer, and a woven cap inside. The weaver made the hollow knobs separately and attached them."</p> <p>KK: <i>uu-uutahpuks</i> (hunter's hat)</p> <p>Bottom: HO: painted NWC basketry hat. KK: The hat (bottom)... could be Aleut, could be Nuu-chah-nulth, could be from anywhere.</p>
<p>BI: Pacific Northwest Coast basketry hats. Volume 2, page 27. 33 x 21 cm.</p> <p>Top: unknown basketry hat.</p> <p>HO: "Probably Aleut or from some northern place" (not NWC).</p> <p>Bottom: NWC basketry hat.</p> <p>HO: "This looks like it's twined also, but it looks like the twining has been done in spaced twining rather than real close twining. It's been spaced so you can see the warps."</p>
<p>BI: Pacific Northwest Coast bird carvings. Volume 2, page 28. 33 x 21 cm.</p> <p>Top: NWC hinged mask</p> <p>HO: "The bird mask above is pretty West Coast looking. I haven't seen it anywhere, but I can't say that it looks out of place.... it might be a real bird and it might not be. It might be an eagle. A lot of mythical birds don't have any counterpart in nature.... And there are a lot of mythical beings that are bird-like and have teeth as well."</p> <p>KK: "The upper image could be Nuu-chah-nulth, it could be from Bella Coola, it could be Haida, it could be from almost anywhere on the Northwest Coast. It's very old, so I think the further back the harder to determine. But if that's an operculum in the middle of the eye, then my guess is it's a Nuu-chah-nulth thing. The pegged-in teeth makes me think Nuu-chah-nulth, the total black field makes me think Nuu-chah-nulth, the tying at the back is typical of almost all Northwest Coast."</p> <p>MM: Not a NCN Carving. (Max Savey)</p> <p>Bottom: NCN bird rattle</p> <p>KK: "Typical of an old NCN duck rattle. Maybe loon, given the decoration around the neck." Cedar or yew wood.</p>

<p>BI: not photographed by the Bishop</p> <p>Image source: FO 99.</p> <p>KI 74: "A globular bowl with two human supporters carved from a single piece of wood... The bowl shows considerable signs of use, and still exudes grease... A pipe bowl of identical form was collected at the turn of the century by George Hunt, demonstrating that whatever the significance of the design it was still remembered at the end of the nineteenth century. This bowl, in the American Museum of Natural History (acc. No. 1901.32) was acquired, however, without any accession information – the records merely stating that it is a 'Pipe for house.' "</p> <p>MU: Nootkan wood bowl with two human figures as handles. L: 19.8 cm. British Museum 1971 Am 5 1. (KI Plate 55)</p>
<p>BI: not photographed by the Bishop.</p> <p>Image source: FO 151.</p> <p>Left: unknown club</p> <p>Right: unknown mallet</p> <p>HO: "I'm sure it's Nuu-chah-nulth but I'm not quite sure what it is. It looks like it's some kind of mallet."</p> <p>MU: Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan at Ann Arbor: acc. No. 2175, reg. No. 24673; Similar artifact: British Museum Cook-Banks collection: NWC 43 (KI Plate 46).</p>
<p>BI: not photographed by the Bishop.</p> <p>Image Source: FO 186.</p> <p>Top: Unknown</p> <p>Bottom: Salish Rattle</p> <p>MU: Similar artifact: Rounded rattle, Cape Town, SAM 5330, (KA 260-1)</p>

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